VIEWPOINTS

Tunku Abdul Rahman

(First Prime Minister of Malaysia)

Viewpoints gives Tunku Abdul Rahman's views on "times past", as well as the contemporary scene.

The Tunku's style is eminently readable and to the point, and he deals with prominent events and personages in a frank and forthright fashion, which will make the book required reading for anyone interested in the sweep of Malaysia's post-independence history, as well as some lighter aspects of Malaysian life. Many of the facts and opinions which the Tunku brings out are not easily to be found in other published sources and when the history of this period comes to be written, there is no doubt that future historians will find much to interest them here. Many of the younger generation of Malaysians, both *bumiputras* and others, may not know what the Tunku did for the development of Malaysia and what he stood for, and what his views are on so many matters of interest to all who have the welfare of Malaysia at heart, but this book will help to rectify the *lacunae* in this respect.

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Viewpoints

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN
(First Prime Minister of Malaysia)

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The moving finger writes and having writ,
Moves on; nor all thy Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line
Nor all thy Tears wash out a Word of it.

Omar Khayyam

By Way of Explanation

In bringing this book to the public I wish to make my object quite plain. I wrote these articles in the *Star* because I felt strongly that something had to be done to bring home to our young people, in particular students of politics, the historic significance of events since World War II which led to our Independence and nationhood.

Oddly enough no attempt has been made to give our youth any real idea of how we won Independence. One academic author did write a book in Malay on Malaysia's Independence, a work which was actually distributed to schools for our boys and girls to read, but the author had completely omitted to associate me with events leading to Independence. My service needs no more to be remembered — I am a "has been."

Perhaps I am getting on in years, but I remember that there was a time in my life when I was acclaimed "Bapa Malaya", and later "Bapa Malaysia". I had always thought these endearing terms were meant to indicate the role I played in the birth of our nation. Perhaps I am mistaken; if so, I hope this book will serve to correct any basic errors and be useful for reference as well. At least it comes straight from the horse's mouth, so to speak, a metaphor I like as a life-long fan of horse-racing.

I cannot say, however, that I have had complete access to information in working on my articles for I have had to dig here and there. All the papers I had kept were lost during my years of moving about for the Islamic Secretariat in Jeddah from 1970 to 1974. But what I have related about all the events in my book are as true as one could wish them to be. To my mind there is nothing to hide. All that I have said is intended to give historic data, facts and figures, for our young Malaysians. So I hope they will understand the basic value of this book.

My thanks go to several persons — Mr. Jee Guan Huat who left his family in Kuala Lumpur to join me in Penang where I have retired, to help me in my work, and whenever I am in Kuala Lumpur, which is fairly often, Mr. Cheah Phee Cheok assists me there. The editing has been done by my old Press Secretary, Mr. Frank Sullivan, working with Mr. Cheah. These are my old "faithfuls" and they still remain as ever "yours faithfully" all these years.

1978 **Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra**

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Chapter One

Remembrance of Things Past

I am looking back now to a time sixty-three years ago when I was a boy of twelve studying at the Thebsurian School in Bangkok. That was in 1915 when my brother, Tunku Yusof, the eldest in my family born of the same mother, was serving in the Gendarme Division of the Royal Thai Military Forces.

As a young lad, just as with all the other brothers, he had his schooling and grew up in Bangkok. Then he went as a King's Scholar to the Rugby School in England, the school which introduced rugby football to the world, and to Woolwich, the Military Engineering College which produced officers for service in the Royal Engineers' Corps of the British Army. Upon graduation there, he received an appointment as a Second Lieutenant in the Corps.

Tunku Yusof married an English girl and then returned for a holiday in Kedah, but less than six months' later he left to join the Military Forces in Thailand, where he appeared to me to be mostly connected with fighting bandits, who were rife in Thailand then. Every fortnight he had to go with his men to catch them, and also whenever any incidents involving bandits were reported. His wife used to spend days and nights worrying about him, so we were very happy indeed to welcome him back safe and sound at the end of each of these operations.

Tunku Yusof used to take us to the cinema. In those days Bangkok had only two ramshackle cinema-houses. However, I distinctly remember my brother occupying one theatre box reserved for members of the Royal Family, because the Thais were most particular about the respect that must be shown to members of Royal Families. In theatres they must be properly accommodated, so boxes were assigned to them.

We were also considered "Royal Family", though from Kedah. Whenever I accompanied Tunku Yusof, I had to wear an Eton collar with a white jacket and black trousers. I was never allowed to go to a cinema or theatre on my own.

Often, at the end of a show it was strange to see my brother turning round to find his superior officers were seated behind him. However, in strict observance of military discipline he had to salute the Generals as he came out, while they, his superiors, would wait respectfully for him to leave. In those days everyone wore uniform, as it was wartime.

I thought Bangkok was a nice place, with many canals and wide-open spaces, with plenty of mosquitoes, too, but there was also plenty of rice and fruits, particularly oranges and vegetables. Oddly enough, I cannot ever remember eating durians in those days, though today Thai durians are considered to be the best in the world.

The small market stalls, tended by women generally well past their middle age, were another great attraction. They sold nicely-wrapped and prepared betel-nuts (sireh), and I used to spend lots of my time chatting with them, which was how I improved my Thai. I found them all so kind and motherly.

The house where we lived was well away from the main road, and at night the lane leading to it was dark and deserted. We had nothing to do in the evenings except to sit quietly at home. I had an air-gun, with which I roamed about after school shooting birds and squirrels.

Transport in Bangkok in those days was by pony-drawn carriages. These were beautifully-made, some for single and some for double ponies. Very special ones would be drawn by four ponies.

My brother, however, had a two-seater Morris Oxford with a dickey-seat that was entirely my preserve. I also had a bicycle on which I rode to school. School-hours were short and nice, from eight to one. Our school uniform was a white tunic and shorts, and each of us had a straw hat banded with the school colours.

When school began each morning the boys assembled in Hall to sing the Thai National Anthem, and at one o'clock, the end of school hours each day, we gathered together in Hall again to sing the anthem once more before we left for home.

After one o'clock we had the rest of the day to ourselves to enjoy as we chose. On those days when I was not out hunting with my air-gun, I used to cycle with my friends to where the King Chulalongkorn Monument was, near where the Erawan Hotel now stands. All the areas beyond were paddy-fields.

Except for the trams in the city, there was not much traffic in Bangkok. And there was no air pollution and no road problems! Altogether it was a life of ease, peace and contentment, and especially for young boys as there was plenty of outdoor life.

But all good things must come to an end, and sometimes when an end comes it is sudden and sad. This one was my brother's death. It brought about a change in my life, too. If my brother had lived long and retired in Thailand, I might well have grown up there. Like him too, I would probably have gone to England for my education, returning for service in the Thai Government.

Like my brother, I never wanted to live under British colonial rule. Even as a young boy I abhorred having "white masters". One thing can be said for the Thais; they had manoeuvred themselves away from white domination, even though every country in Asia had fallen victim to superior foreign powers, except for China and Japan.

I was ambitious to join the Thai Military School, but I would have had to make up a lot of ground in my education in order to gain entry there. The boy-cadets there wore smart military officers' uniforms, with top-boots and all the official markings, and I must admit that it was the uniform that attracted me most.

My bosom-friend was Tarvil Cupterak, who later became a *Luang* and a successful Government servant. We were attached to one another, though he was two or three years older than I, and of an entirely different character. He was a nice, gentle and kindly boy, while I was naughty, boisterous and playful, but we remained staunch friends all our lives.

During all the time I lived in Bangkok, and even after we grew up and separated, we remained as ever before, good friends. He entered Harvard College, while I joined the Penang Free School and went on to Cambridge. By a coincidence, Tarvil's eldest brother, Chalerm, was my brother's best friend.

My brother, after being commissioned, went on military manoeuvres against a gang of bandits. As events turned out, it was the last and the longest expedition Tunku Yusof ever made into the jungle. Away two or three weeks, he came back with his head shaved because of the heat, and on his shoulders were the marks of gun-powder. He had captured "a big, bad bandit-chief" and was very happy with his achievement.

He had been "home" only three days when he went down

with high fever, and within a week he was dead.

The sad day was September 1, 1915. Tunku Yusof left his young English wife a widow at twenty-one years of age. As he was born on December 30, 1890, he was just over twenty-four when he died.

I felt very sad indeed when he passed away, and had to return to Alor Star. I had not mixed very much with members of my mother's family in Bangkok, but rather more with others in the families of my school friends; their homes were always open to me.

In fact my mother never forgave her eldest sister for some misunderstanding about part of her inheritance in Bangkok. So she told me to keep out of reach of my aunt and her family. Being relatives, naturally we came together quite often, but, of course, I took care not to tell my mother.

Later that year, I returned on a German boat, landing at Songkhla, and then drove home to Kedah across 50 miles of rugged, cobbled road in my father's big Siddeley-Daisy car; it took nearly twelve hours to travel from Songkhla to the Istana, as we had to cross several bamboo-bridges on Thai territory.

As I recall that journey, I am looking back a long, long way indeed, sixty-three years ago when I was only 12 years old.

Today Bangkok has changed dramatically. The old lane along which we never dared to walk after sunset is now crowded with shop-houses, firms and businesses.

The house, as I remember, stood in a compound of five acres. Now it can hardly be identified. I was shocked when I finally saw it again, shocked to find so many families living in that old building.

It is still there today, no more in its old spacious glory, but so hemmed in and overcrowded by the other houses around that it is almost hidden from view. The area around, full of all kinds of people, is now part of Bangkok's Chinese quarter. The once staid, quite out-of-the-way town of Taphan Yusay is now a hub of business activity. My shooting-grounds are gone and there is nothing left even to remind me where they were. And also slowly built-up, too, is the Muslim cemetery of Taphan Yusay.

If my brother's body remained buried in that cemetery the area would have been left untouched. But it would not have been fair to stop development of the area, just for one grave.

So, through the Thai Consul, Mr. Kamchai Thinaphong, I sought the Thai Government's permission recently to bring back Tunku Yusof's remains for re-burial in Alor Star. And I asked the Prime Minister, Datuk Hussein Onn, to help me in doing so without being subjected to any hitch or hindrance.

I was very touched when, as soon as he received my letter, he ordered the various Ministries concerned to give all available help.

Air Vice-Marshal Datuk Suleiman Sujak got in touch with me to say that a Royal Malaysian Air Force plane would be placed at my disposal for the journey back to Alor Star, and the then Chief Secretary, Tan Sri Abdul Kadir Shamsuddin told me in a letter that arrangements were being made in Malaysia to receive the remains.

In the meantime, the Thai Government had also been most kind and co-operative, taking every action possible at their end to deal with all religious and administrative matters.

It had always been my wish to bring back Tunku Yusof's remains for re-burial in the Royal Cemetery of Kedah, so that when my own turn comes to leave this world I can lie next to him — together with the rest of my ancestors and my family, whose bones have lain buried there for hundreds of years.

When the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Dr. Ismail, my good friend and colleague, died regrettably on August 2, 1973, he was honoured with a State funeral, the first national leader to "Lie-in-State" in the Mausoleum of the National Mosque, the Masjid Negara. At that time I was distressed and deeply hurt to learn that some mischievous tale-tellers had alleged that I "wanted the Heroes' Mausoleum for myself alone".

When the National Mosque was being planned and designed I had been asked about the Mausoleum. I said then that it was a place for "the Lying-in-State of the dead", but the burial-ground itself should be in the open, in orderly rows, and there should be sufficient room for others to be buried there. The Building Committee accepted my counsel, and so did the religious authorities and the Imam of Masjid Negara.

The rumour-mongers, however, had to turn this deeply personal and national occasion into a scandal by alleging that I wanted the Mausoleum for myself, and that other leaders would be buried outside.

In the first place how can I dictate terms as to where I am

to be buried after my death when I have ceased to be Prime Minister?

Further when I am dead, what possible authority can I exert or have to say where I am to be buried?

But it is my wish that when the time comes my body will lie with the rest of my family in the Royal Cemetery of Kedah. That's where I belong; and that's where I want to be buried.

Chapter Two

Memories of Momentous Years

"Looking Back" is my second book; the first was "May 13, Before and After". The books contain memories of the past, with events of historical importance to Malaysia. It all happened by accident, for I am no writer, still less a historian. My memoirs were supposed to be written by someone else, but things just happened with me as they have always done, and in the end I was forced to do my own homework.

The same happened with regard to my legal qualifications. My friends, Datuk Senu Abdul Rahman and Encik Khir Johari, forced me to complete my law studies by circumstances they did not intend; they gave me no choice but to seek 'solace' in law-books. I had to be made to do things.

And so it is that I have done things no one expects of me. Had Datuk Onn Jaafar not left UMNO with no one to take over, I would not have been the Prime Minister or the party leader. If one believes in fate, then only will one understand my life. I have been referred to as a "Man of Destiny"; perhaps that best describes me.

When I was given the chairmanship of *The Star,* I had nothing to do but attend meetings. So I decided to work for my remuneration, my bread and butter, and I contributed an article every Monday. For want of a title, I named the series "Looking Back", but current events were also dealt with.

I called my "old faithful", Encik Jee Guan Huat, to come and help take down the script. What was written for enjoyment became an addiction, and I have never failed to produce my weekly article, except during those times when I happened to be out of the country. The public like it, so I enjoy writing.

Now I have compiled them, with the help of two other "old faithfuls", Encik P.C. Cheah and Encik Frank Sullivan. They must be read as articles written in weekly series and not as a book.

What surprises me most is how short human memory can

be. Very few can remember what happened during those years of our struggle for Independence and our glorious victory. The successful prosecution of the war against the Communists was followed by Soekarno's Confrontation, which also ended after his overthrow by the anti-Communist forces in Indonesia. There was also the happy and prosperous state of the country in the early years of Independence, which I like to look back upon with pride.

All these events I have brought out in different parts of my books insofar as I can remember. The most unfortunate part of my life was that I never cared to keep a diary. Whatever souvenirs I have kept which could have been of help to me in my writings were all burnt by accident when I left office as Prime Minister.

According to the practice of the British Government, they burn everything there is to burn on a change of Government, but there was no reason for that here as the documents could all have been of great use to successive Governments, but as it turned out they were all put to the flames; nothing was left.

One thing was of great help to me; this was the memoirs kept by T.H. Tan which he intended to publish, but he has not done so till now. He was the editor of the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) paper called "Mirror". This was the record made in the early days which became useful to me.

He was one of those who was closely associated with me as Secretary-General of the Alliance, and he worked conscientiously for the party and unselfishly for the Independence Movement, without regard to the claim of the Chinese or the Malays. So he is one of the men to whom I owe my thanks for the articles I have written, which I have now compiled into a book.

There may be faults here and there, but it is not my intention to mislead anybody as I have nothing to gain by it nor anything to hide. All I want to do is to bring to the notice of the young generation the history of our nation, so they may look back and understand what happened in those years.

Not being a historian I had to do it in the way I did, and of course as articles there may be repetitions here and there, but that is not something to be regretted. Certain information when given often enough will remain longer in the memory of men.

Another man to whom I am grateful, in a sense, although he was our arch-enemy, is Chin Peng. As I often said he gave

me the biggest lesson of my life when he told me that as between a Communist and a non-Communist there could be no true friendship.

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald wrote the Foreword to "Looking Back" in which he paid me a glowing tribute in these words ... "With characteristic candour he expresses his opinions on the series of events and problems, and on the principal personalities involved in them... Historians will attach great significance to them because his fine qualities as a leader of men made decisive contributions to the course of events. A dedicated Malay, he was also a true Malayan and Malaysian convinced that it was in the enlightened self-interest of all the different ethnic communities to co-operate as fellow-citizens in one nation...."

Mr. MacDonald was really the man who gave the people of this country a sense of Malaysian consciousness; and it was he who taught the people to look ahead, with ultimate Independence as a goal, and he naturally had to depend on people like Datuk Onn and other community leaders of the time, Sir Chenglock Tan, Datuk Thuraisingham and a few others to give the lead.

They were never convinced that this country could ever have complete Independence without connections with Britain. The Chinese were afraid of the Malays and the Malays afraid of the Chinese and the whole lot were afraid of themselves. So Independence didn't appear at all possible, not even in the distant horizon.

Independence was served on a silver platter as a result of the British "winds of change" policy, and people nowadays hardly realise how hard we had to fight for our freedom then.

One incident I recall brought about through the foolish act of the British Government at the time, concerned a Muslim Eurasian girl, Nadra or Maria Hertogh as she was known who was forcibly taken from her foster-mother, Cik Aminah, and kept in a convent and forced to renounce the Muslim religion in favour of Catholicism. As a result the Muslims in Singapore broke out in violent riots which caused death and destruction to human lives and property.

Seven men were sentenced to death. My first duty as President of UMNO was to take up their defence on appeal. Though it was not successful, the sentence of death was commuted to one of life imprisonment.

This perhaps had a lot to do with winning back the Malays to the UMNO Party. Nadra was herself taken to Holland and married to a Dutchman. What has happened to her nobody knows, and when I expressed a desire to see her in Holland, the Dutch Government appeared reluctant to introduce her to me.

In the course of UMNO's long history, I have already reported many incidents; the party's fight for Independence, the winning over of the Chinese and the Indians, the fight to return the Sultans to power, the abrogation of the MacMichael Treaty, the achievement of Independence and the formation of Malaysia. All these are in my articles.

Events which led to Independence are recorded in different parts of "Looking Back". When General Sir Gerald Templer was appointed High Commissioner for the Federation, the British Government directive to him stated *inter alia* ..."You can assure the Malayan people of all communities that they can count on the powerful and continuing assistance of Her Majesty's Government not only in the immediate task of defeating the terrorists but in the longer-term objective of forging a united Malayan nation."

The longer-term objective was the bone of contention between the authorities and the political parties. The conditions were not clear. How and when do we get Independence? When we asked for General Elections, they were not keen to give it. So I took action by calling on Alliance members to quit all the Councils as a protest against the British Government's reluctance to keep up with their promise to grant us a semblance of democracy. The walk-out really jolted the Government, their quandary was severe, their predicament serious, because now they found themselves with a double-sided problem — they had to deal not only with the Communists but also with the Malayan people.

On July 16, 1954, the then High Commissioner, Sir Donald MacGillivray, conferred with the Rulers. He discussed the appointment of a Commission the Alliance had asked for to review constitutional reforms. The Rulers disagreed with this proposal but instead suggested an independent committee to go into the question of reviewing the Constitution.

The Alliance rejected this idea and so too did four of the Menteris Besar, who voted against their own Rulers in support of the Alliance views. They were Datuk Seth of Johore, Datuk

Kamaruddin of Trengganu, Datuk Sheikh Ahmad of Perlis and Tengku Muhammad of Pahang.

The British Government decided to have direct talks with me. On July 2, 1954, the High Commissioner, Sir Donald MacGillivray, Mr. Gray, the Chief Secretary, Mr. Michael Hogan, Attorney-General, Dr. Ismail (later Tun) and H.S. Lee (Tun) at the historic meeting on the frigate HMS "Alert" settled the question of elections.

Then we had our first General Elections in 1955; our victory in Alliance with the MCA and the MIC swept the country. The "Sailing Boat", symbol of the Alliance Party, sailed on from victory to victory. Finally it led us to London in conference for the Independence of Malaya.

The main discussions centred on financial control, Malayanisation, internal security and constitutional reforms. Various meetings took place under the Chairmanship of Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd (now Viscount Boyd of Merton).

The Colonial Office issued a statement to the Press outlining the arrangements for the conference as follows:

"The British Government has collected experts on Malayan affairs. There are ten Federation delegates and there will be another thirty-five present at the talks, representing the British Administration in the Federation, the Colonial Office, the Defence Ministry, the War Office, the Treasury and other departments.

"Tunku will sit at the centre on one side of a huge four-sided table in Lancaster House, the scene of countless colonial talks.

"Facing Tunku will be the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, flanked by his Minister of State, Mr. John Hare, and his permanent officials.

"The High Commissioner, Sir Donald MacGillivray, sits at one side of the table; with him will be Mr. David Watherston, the Federation Chief Secretary. Mr. Oscar Spencer, the Federation Minister for Economic Affairs, will also be present.

"Facing them, representatives of Ministers affected by the talks — the Treasury, the Ministry of Defence, the War Office and constitutional experts from the Attorney-General's Department".

Finally, on February 8, my fifty-third birthday, the Agreement was signed. Being my birthday and the conclusion of a highly-successful conference, the occasion was celebrated with double

joy. I consider this a very special birthday gift for me, and it was a night I shall long remember.

Independence was declared on August 31, 1957. Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II of Britain sent her uncle, HRH the Duke of Gloucester, to represent her at the Independence Day Celebrations with the following message, which I quote:

"I have entrusted to my Uncle the duty of acting as my representative at the celebrations of the Independence of your country. This is a great and memorable day for you; my thoughts and my good wishes are with you as you take up the great and stimulating responsibilities of Independence; and it is with deep and real pleasure that I welcome you to the brotherhood of our Commonwealth family of nations. I am confident that Malaya will respond worthily to the challenging tasks of independence, and that she will continue to show to the world that example of co-operation and goodwill between all races that has been so marked a feature of her history. May God bless you and guide your country in the years that lie ahead".

Later, after we expanded Malaya to form Malaysia in 1963, we had our trouble with Soekarno and our trouble with President Macapagal. The political situation at home was not at all satisfactory either, with Mr. Lee Kuan Yew conducting internal confrontation of his own. Contrary to his earlier promise to uphold the Constitution, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew then insinuated that the concessions to the Malays embodied in the Constitution were unreasonable, so he took a stand on a slogan of "Malaysian Malaysia".

Then in 1965 Mr. Lee Kuan Yew suggested that most of the differences could be overcome by combining the PAP in a coalition with the Alliance. When I refused, matters got rather out of control and so I thought the time for the parting of ways had arrived. That, I believe, was the only way to save Malaysia from internal trouble.

Everyone had looked at Singapore as an important port, and a centre of trade and commercial activity for Malaysia. The break-up caused a lot of inconvenience to the business people and to both Governments, but that was something that could not be helped, for the future well-being and peace of Malaysia was of first importance to me.

On the early morning of October 2, 1965, General Suharto's forces took possession of Halim Airbase and with that event

Confrontation came to the beginning of the end. With that capture the PKI coup was virtually over.

On October 8, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) Headquarters in Jakarta was attacked and burnt. On March 11, 1966 President Soekarno signed an order delegating to General Suharto authority to take all necessary steps to guarantee security and calm, and the responsibility of running the Government in the cause of the revolution and also to preserve the personal safety of the President.

On May 3, 1966, President Marcos declared, "There are no obstacles to the Philippines' recognition of Malaysia. I believe the Indonesian Government will not feel offended if the Philippines now recognised Malaysia".

On June 2, a Treaty of Peace was signed in Bangkok. Thus ended the purposeless acts of hostilities which brought no glory to either Government, no victor and no vanquished.

In "Looking Back" I have also given accounts of my association with President Ngo Dinh Diem, and on how closely we conferred with one another over the Communist hostilities common to both countries, and also my association with Prince Sihanouk whom I had warned earlier not to go too near the Communists nor to have too much faith in them.

I discussed the formation of the Association of South-East Asia (ASA) with the Philippines and Thailand; how it was formed, what it intended to do for the member-countries. Since the fate of millions of people of South-East Asia is at stake, the time for serious thinking and planning has become a matter of vital importance. Peace in South-East Asia is the concern of every one of its millions of people and the duty of the leaders is to see how best to secure it. This, in fact, is the main objective of ASEAN today.

I also talk about the leaders of UMNO, the leaders of the Alliance, the difficulties we had to go through to win Independence, and, on a sentimental note, I write too about the old haunted house, the former Residency where I lived and also the one in Hose Road, and lastly of my childhood days.

When I talk about my own childhood days, this is something which I cannot do without mentioning my own mother; my father had many children from his wives, and as he never had less than four at a time, he was naturally not able to give all his attention to the children.

In the early days before he had so many children, we heard the story oft-repeated of my elder brothers; how my father employed a teacher, one Mr. Ward, an Englishman, who was at the same time Financial Officer to the Kedah Government in the days before we were a protectorate of Britain.

He was given the job of teaching my elder brothers, but they just refused to learn and when he reported to my father, he gave them a good ticking-off and one of the gang leaders a good beating.

There was a high wall and a big gateway into the palace, which forced them to remain inside and attend lessons; at the end of lessons they were allowed outside the palace and poor Mr. Ward was waylaid and severely beaten. After that Mr. Ward refused to teach them any more.

My mother's children were very well-cared for insofar as education was concerned. They all went to Bangkok and from there to England and were given religious education at home. So I grew up perhaps well-educated compared with my elders.

I repeat I have become a writer by accident.

Chapter Three

The House that Tunku Kudin Built

Press reports last year said that the ruins of a palace found at Bukit Tinggi are still believed by some Kedah residents to be the palace of Raja Bersiong — the 'King with Fangs'.

In fact the history of the palace has been so shrouded in mystery and legend that piecing it together poses a problem. Delving into the records of the palace's past from the local museum of Bakar Bata almost drew a blank, the report said.

For this reason, I feel it my duty as a scion of the Royal House of Kedah to help elucidate the situation, and to give whatever facts I have at my command, so that whatever mystery surrounds this particular house can be cleared up beyond all reasonable doubt.

The house belonged to Tunku Dhiauddin, better known as Tunku Kudin, the Raja Muda of Kedah at the time, and my great uncle, or uncle of my father. He built it in the 19th Century at the foot of a hill, Bukit Tinggi, in an area famous for durians, rambutans and mangosteens.

Every member of the Royal Family had a plantation within the Mukim of Bukit Pinang and Bukit Tinggi. Opposite and across the river was my father's plantation, Bukit Pinang, and almost adjoining it was that of my uncle, the late Raja Muda, Tunku Aziz, which now belongs to me.

When a civil war broke out in Selangor in 1872 between the then Raja Mahadi, and his uncle, Sultan Abdul Samad, Tunku Dhiauddin joined forces with Sultan Abdul Samad, his father-in-law, and incurred the displeasure of Kedah's Sultan, then my grandfather, Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Mukkaram Shah. He deprived Tunku Kudin of the office of the Raja Muda, and everything else that went with it, appointing the other brother, Tunku Yacob, as Raja Muda in his place.

In March 1879, Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Mukkaram Shah died, and his eldest son, Sultan Zainal Rashid, succeeded, but on September 22, 1880, he too died. Tunku Kudin returned

to Kedah and the Council of Regency appointed him, Tunku Yacob and Wan Mat Saman to run the Government until a new Sultan was appointed.

They were divided in their choice of a Ruler for Kedah, for under the will of the late Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin, after his first son, the heir-presumptive was the first son of the second wife, Mak Wan Jahara, and that would be my father, Tunku Abdul Hamid. This meant that Tunku Kassim, the second son, who at the same time was son-in-law of Tunku Kudin, had to be passed over in favour of the younger brother. Tunku Kudin refused to accept this and insisted that Tunku Kassim, being the second son, should be made Sultan.

Civil war threatened Kedah. Mak Wan Jahara, the mother of the Raja Muda, the heir-presumptive, Tunku Abdul Hamid, raised a standard calling for State-wide backing for her son, and this received the overwhelming support of the Kedah people. She then offered Tunku Kudin this army to help him in Selangor, leaving Kedah peacefully alone and avoiding any outbreak of violence.

In a fit of temper Tunku Kudin left Kedah, and took this army to Selangor, winning a victory there which ensured Sultan Abdul Samad the throne of Selangor, presumably for keeps. Tunku Kudin set himself up as Viceroy, but allowed the Kedah army to fend for themselves as best they could. Some returned to Kedah while others went to Muar, and a few settled down in Klang.

Tunku Kudin found himself without the protection of the army, and was at a loss as to know what to do when Raja Mahadi took advantage of the situation to make a come-back. Tunku Kudin, however, sought the help of the Pahang chiefs and managed to keep Raja Mahadi out. During a lull in the fighting, he founded with Yap Ah Loy the village of Kuala Lumpur, which was rich in tin deposits, and today that village has grown into a city and the capital of Malaysia.

He found out, however, that life was unsafe in Selangor, and without the support of the Kedah army he thought it better for him to enter into a treaty with Britain by which he ceded the State of Selangor as a protectorate of the British Government. He then sailed back to Kedah, but when he reached Penang he was told not to return to Kedah as Sultan Abdul Hamid would not allow him to set foot in the State ever again,

as he had been guilty of treachery in ceding the State of Selangor to the British, and also for his shameful neglect and bad treatment of the army that went out to fight for him. It was then that he decided to reside in Penang, and to build a house in Northam Road where he stayed until his death.

Those who opposed Sultan Abdul Hamid's succession to the Throne also included his other uncle, Tunku Kudin's younger brother, Tunku Yusof. He was the one who had a very showy and fine moustache — like that of a passionate prawn — of which he was extremely proud. In his bragging before the accession of Sultan Abdul Hamid to the Throne, he swore that if Tunku Abdul Hamid succeeded he would shave off half his moustache, and so it was that he did appear with half his moustache shaved. After a time he decided he could bear it no longer and so he left and took a house in Penang, also in Northam Road. For many years he was going about with his half moustache in Penang until finally death ended his embarrassment.

One man, a well-known civil servant, whose name I will not mention, claimed that he was one of the illegitimate sons of Tunku Yusof, and for this reason he maintained that his moustache would not grow. He used to tell a lot of stories about Tunku Yusof, who, according to him, was a man of his word. Once he said a thing he would never change, be it right or wrong. He gave his word to support his elder brother Tunku Kudin in his fight to set up his son-in-law Tunku Kassim as Sultan against his own better judgement and he obstinately stuck to it. When Tunku Kudin set himself up as the virtual Ruler of Selangor he remained behind to muse over his one-sided moustache.

There is also a story about how the Bangsawan got its name. Actually it was imported from India, and was originally known as Indra Sabha. Penang Malays of Indian origin who introduced the Indra Sabha to Penang did not like the name, and they went to Tunku Kudin to ask him to give another one. After hearing from them what it was, and understanding that it was a stage-play telling stories in songs and words, enacting legends of old where men and women became kings and princesses, all in fun, Tunku Kudin out of spite for the person whom he hated most, the maternal uncle of my father, Wan Mat Saman, who was responsible for banishing him from the State, gave it the name "Bangsawan" (the class, Bangsa,

and Wan a noble). This was as much as to insinuate that Wan Mat Saman was no more than a Bangsawan actor. And so the name Bangsawan remains to this day.

When asked to suggest another name for "Boriah", he said that he then could not think of anyone to hate, and therefore could not give a name for Boriah, and let it go at that.

The palace in Bukit Tinggi was taken over by my father, who gave it to my mother. When we were children we went to stay in this house for days. The estate covered an area of eighty *relongs* (roughly sixty acres). I remember distinctly the big chandeliers in the main hall, and servants taking much time to light all the candles in all the rooms in that big mansion. Later paraffin lamps were used, but these completely spoilt the lighting effect and the magnificence of the interior.

Leading to the river was an avenue one hundred feet wide, with big cement vases on both sides. It was a beautiful well-paved avenue. Behind the vases red and white chempa trees lined both sides.

Today the land belongs to my sister, Tunku Baharon, who married Raja Azam Shah, killed in Singapore during the Japanese Occupation. She is the mother of Tunku Mariam (wife of General Tunku Osman Jewa). Raja Nazaren, Raja Feisal and Tunku Zaleha.

Tunku Kudin had many concubines, while his wife the daughter of Sultan Abdul Samad lived in Klang. Naturally the house was large and spacious and built to accomodate them all. In later years, after the abolition of "orang hutang" (a kind of slavery), it became hard to maintain the house, so my mother built a small holiday-bungalow a few yards from the river, as a result of which this mansion was completely neglected and allowed to go to wrack and ruin. It appears therefore as a thing of the past, a palace that had housed an ancient King, but the connection was very remote.

In the pre-Islamic period the Kedah Kings had their capital around the foot of Kedah Peak, a very fertile plain. The first dynasty established was the Marong, the first King being Marong Maha Wangsa, Kedah then being known as Qalha.

History relates how the first dynasty was established. It tells of a prince of the Mogul (Mongul) Empire of India who came with a fleet to China to seek the hand of a Mogul princess in marriage. As they were rounding the coast of Acheh,

they encountered strong seas and severe storms. They were blown into the straits dividing the islands of Trutau and Langkawi, and were wrecked.

Those who saved themselves took shelter on the tip of an island, known today as Gua Cherita. The prince was drowned, his body never being recovered, but the surviving members of his party took shelter in the cave. While waiting for their ships to be repaired, some employed their time carving their story on the entrance to the cave, presumably their misfortunes. Because of exposure to the rain-storms and other natural forces as well as time, the words can hardly be seen now. The cave is known as "Gua Cherita" — "Cave with a Story".

When the damaged ships were repaired they made their way towards the mainland, using Kedah Peak as their focal point to approach. They never dared to return home without the prince, and so decided to remain where they were.

At the time there were two rival chiefs of Qalha — Tan Dermadeva and Tun Perkasa. When they heard of the entry of a fleet from a foreign land into their territory, they came to meet the new invaders. After meeting the foreign visitors, they both agreed they would offer their chief the Throne of Qalha, which he readily accepted. That was how the first dynasty was set up, the first ruler being Marong Maha Wangsa. He decided to establish his headquarters and the capital of his State up-river near Merbok, and called it Kota Langkasuka. He changed the name Qalha to Langkasuka.

About AD 634 he died, and was succeeded by Marong Maha Bodisad (known as Putera). He was succeeded by his son, Marong Maha Putera, who again was succeeded by Marong Maha Dewa. This ruler opened up another town, known as Kota Ok, somewhere near Baling. His successor, Marong Maha Kerna, made his headquarters in Kota Ok. He too opened up a new town, called Kota Arong Arongan, and his successor, Marong Maha Kerna, built another at Bukit Meriam, within the district of Kuala Muda, making it the State capital. From here he built a canal right out to sea. This river is now known as Sungai Kuala Muda.

His son, Marong Maha Dewa, succeeded him and then came a Burmese invasion led by the King of Tinang Sari, but the battle that followed at Padang Jangan was indecisive. There was no victory on either side until the King of Ligor, South Thai-

land, came to the help of the King of Langkasuka, and together they drove back the Burmese invaders. Marong Maha Dewa was the next ruler, and after him Marong Maha Derbar.

It was in this reign, in the year 1178, roughly 800 years ago, that Shaik Abdullah bin Shaik Ahmad Kuamira came from Yemen and converted Marong Maha Derbar to Islam. He took the name of Sultan al-Mudzzafar Shah. On his conversion to Islam many of his people, who were mostly from Burma, Thailand and Java, took to the new religion and became Muslims in a mass conversion. He then ordered all the Hindu shrines to be destroyed, except one built in Merbok in Batu Pahat which was made of solid granite slabs cut from the rocks, very well-constructed, well-preserved and difficult to destroy completely. For this reason the place was called Batu Pahat. This shrine was rebuilt by me with the help of Professor French.

This reign ended the dynasty of the Marongs (nine of them altogether). The Sultanate of Langkasuka was then set up, with headquarters in the district which is Kuala Muda today. And so Bukit Tinggi, the subject under review, is far removed from Kuala Muda, the former capital of the State. The first Sultan of Langkasuka, its name now changed to Kedah, died and was succeeded by his son Sultan Muazam Shah in the year 1216. When Sultan Muazam Shah died in 1241, his son, Sultan Mohamed Shah, succeeded him. So it follows that up to the year 1241 the capital of Kedah was in Central Kedah, and it was not until rather late that the capital was moved to the North in Siputeh.

In the year 1322, Sultan Mohamed Shah ordered his son the Raja Muda to put up defences in Siputeh, as the area was accessible to the Burmese of Tinang Sari, who had invaded Kedah once before. Siputeh was well-protected with walls around, and proper defences were built to keep out any enemy.

In 1350, Sultan Mohamed Shah died and was succeeded by Sultan Ibrahim. He decided in 1352 to move the capital to Siputeh, 20 miles from Alor Star, and his uncle Tunku Ahmad, the former Raja Muda was made the Governor of the former capital in Bukit Meriam.

In 1412, Sultan Ibrahim died, and was succeeded by Sultan Suleiman Shah. On his death Sultan Ata Alla succeeded, and he built many channels around the area of Alor Star, these

rivers being known as Alor — canals for the purposes of irrigation. Sultan Mohamed Jewa succeeded him and later his son, Sultan Mahmud Shah. It was he who introduced the use of currency, land measurements and other land reforms, and also weights and measures.

Sultan Muzafar succeeded him, dying in the year 1640, and was succeeded by Sultan Suleiman Shah II in 1663. After his death Sultan Rilaluddin Mohamed Shah succeeded. He moved to Kota Naga in the district of Kota Star, and was succeeded by his son Sultan Muhiyuddin. In 1690 he died, and became known as Al Marhum Naga. After him came Sultan Dhiauddin in 1699. He moved to Wal in Perlis and opened up Indra Kayangan, where he lived and died.

Sultan Dhiauddin died in 1706 after carrying out extensive land development and reforms. He was succeeded by his son Sultan Ata Alla II, and he it was who moved his Istana from Perlis to Bukit Pinang. In 1716 Sultan Alla died, and Sultan Abdullah Azam Shah succeeded. In 1724 he died, being succeeded by his brother Sultan Mohamed Jewa.

It was during his reign that Kota Star became the capital, and in 1753 he moved his Istana from Bukit Pinang to Alor Star. This was because of poor communications at Bukit Pinang, as the river was not navigable to ships, as well as for other reasons.

Sultan Mohamed Jewa was one of the most famous Rulers of Kedah; during his reign extensive reforms were carried out. He introduced proper administration in the State, and a civil service in the Government. He was educated in India, and from there he went to Egypt, travelling extensively in search of knowledge.

When his elder brother died a delegation went from Kedah to look for him, found him in Egypt, brought him back and proclaimed him Sultan.

He found that Alor Star was a fertile place, and decided to make it his capital, building many canals, all of which joined up with the Kuala Kedah river. He became very famous, and big business flourished during his benign and wise reign. Kedah produced rice and other foodstuffs as well as cattle for export to neighbouring States.

Thus Kedah during his reign became a centre for business, and Alor Star became well-known as a prosperous town and the

capital of Kedah. As Alor Star was founded in 1724, the story of Bukit Tinggi being the home of the Marongs of the pre-Islamic era has no foundation whatsoever.

The last Muslim Sultan to have his Istana in Bukit Pinang was Sultan Abdullah Azam Shah, and Sultan Mohamed Jewa stayed there for a time, but later moved to Alor Star. But the house was built, I repeat by Tunku Kudin, whose real name was Tunku Dhiauddin, in 1850.

Chapter Four

Salleh Tui, the Bandit

Recently I was invited to Kuala Nerang in Kedah to open a Balai Islam, Kuala Nerang *Perkim* Branch. But what is so special about that? All I can say is that Kuala Nerang has a special place in my heart; even my only son is named after the town. It has a character entirely its own, so different from other Districts in Kedah. Anyway, for reasons connected with my life, such as the death of my first wife under tragic circumstances, Kuala Nerang will always remain evergreen in my memory.

I was posted there as a District Officer in 1933. Life was pretty dull at first until my brother-in-law, Syed Sheh Shahabuddin, the late Governor of Penang, and his wife, my sister, Tunku Habsah, joined me with Syed Sheh as the Assistant District Officer. We constructed a tennis court for $20, and it was here that he learned his tennis and later became a good player.

In the old days the only approach to the place from Alor Star was by boat. About twenty miles from Kuala Nerang the water flowed one way, and one had to pole up-stream, taking the whole of two days to reach the town. The other way was by elephant, which took a day, or a trek along a jungle path from Langgar, which took half a day, but that was many years ago. In my time there was a road to Kuala Nerang covering a distance of twenty-two miles.

The people living there were of three distinct types — the Malays who originally came from Patani and Kelantan and who spoke a Kelantan and Patani Malay dialect; the Malays who originally came from Thailand and were known as "Sam Sam" (abbreviation of Siam Siam), and who though Muslims by faith spoke the Thai language; and thirdly, the Thai Buddhists.

It was a strange experience for me to sit on the bench and hear cases where a statement would be given by a man wearing the Malay baju with cap and sarong, speaking in a language which had to be interpreted from Thai to Malay. I knew a smattering of Thai, but the language spoken by these people was

quite different from that spoken in Bangkok.

On the whole they were simple likeable people who lived a secluded kampung life. The Malays and the Sam Sam lived around the kampung, the Thais around the Buddhist temple.

In most cases the so-called Muslims cared very little and knew nothing about religion. Another peculiar thing about them was their food. Their meal usually consisted of a vegetable boiled in coconut milk, meat fried or roasted, but they hardly took curry except at a kenduri.

Only after a road had been built from Langgar across the jungle in 1917, was Kuala Nerang brought nearer to civilisation. The District is big and borders Kelantan, Patani and part of Thailand. In the old days the young men spent much of their time in cattle-rustling and banditry until they decided to settle down. As huntsmen I must say they had no equal.

I used to go out shooting wild boar with them, and their uncanny knowledge of the presence of the beasts was a miracle. There were plenty of wild boars around, but the Muslims did not eat the flesh and they passed the kill to the Chinese for a price, usually paid for in cartridges in lieu of cash.

One of the men who used to accompany me a lot on my hunting expeditions was a one-time bandit-chief by the name of Dollah. His knowledge of the jungle was great and the way he wielded his parang, cutting through the bushes to clear the jungle path, was an art in itself. He asked me once to press a needle into his arm, and, believe it or not, it would not penetrate his skin; it was so thick. I had never seen anyone with skin that thick in my life. He wore no shoes and the soles of his feet were as hard and thick as the soles of the best Bally shoes!

He was fond of telling me of the exploits of the greatest of all the bandits, known at that period in Kedah as Salleh Tui, whose name struck terror in the hearts of the people from Satul right down to Bandar Baru.

Salleh Tui was born in Satul, which was then part of Kedah, but is now in Thailand, and as he found life there dull he moved to Perlis, then also part of Kedah.

In Perlis he started his life of crime by taking to banditry and cattle-rustling. He even took away the widow of a member of the Royal Family and held her for ransom, and the whole Kedah Police force concentrated all their efforts on his capture but to no avail.

He, however, made his way to Kuala Nerang and set up his base in Mukim Tolak. His reputation had preceded him; as soon as he arrived the youngsters with a spirit of adventure, mostly the Sam Sam, collected around him. He used to rob the big gambling-farms as he found money in abundance there. He was also an opium addict and got it free from these gambling-dens.

After each robbery he would return to Mukim Tolak where he would collect his women around him, and sometimes he would bring fresh faces after his raids and have a thoroughly enjoyable time. There was one good thing about him, and that was his generosity to the people of the kampung, to whom he gave plenty of money.

In one of my visits I met a 90 year old lady in Kampong Tolak who knew Salleh Tui in her teens. According to her he was popular with the kampung folk. What he did elsewhere was none of their concern, but to them he was a leader whose exploits were a source of pride to these ignorant, backward people.

Stories about him used to be repeated to us, young kids as we were, and sometimes our nurses would frighten us when we were out playing too late in the evening outside the house by calling out "Salleh Tui!", saying he would be after us, and we would run indoors.

It was impossible to catch Salleh Tui, for he was very elusive. When the Police came he would be warned by the kampung people and he would disappear many miles away from where the Police were.

As I said earlier, Salleh Tui was a gay Romeo and fond of women, for that matter any pretty face would take his fancy. As luck would have it he had a severe attack of venereal disease which incapacitated him and kept him indoors, and that portended his end. The reward was big for his capture, dead or alive. An informer soon brought the news of his illness to Panglima Abu Samah who got the Police to accompany him to the kampung.

Early one morning they surrounded the house and called out his name, ordering him to come out. With kris in his hand he came out, but the Panglima Samah was at the foot of the steps and as Salleh Tui tried to jump the steps the Panglima slashed him between the legs with a parang. As he fell, wounded, they shot him dead.

The authorities brought his body back to Alor Star and paraded it round the town in a handcart for all to see. When we heard about it, we came out from the palace and watched the procession from a distance at the Balai Besar.

Mukim Tolak was known as such even before Salleh Tui made it his home. According to a story, the people there never practised religion, and in fact ate anything that came their way, including pork. So the conforming Muslims left the kampung for good; hence the name "Tolak".

An incident which I can never forget concerned two young people, the man, a Muslim Sam Sam and the girl, a Thai Buddhist. They were intent on getting married, and the man was prepared to give up his religion for the girl he loved.

His father and the Imam of the kampung brought them to me, and no amount of persuasion would change his mind. Then in desperation I asked him to consider the Holy Prophet Mohammad, and what he said shocked me. "Why should I consider Mohammed; he has never been to my kampung to see me, not even once".

I travelled a lot on elephants and the mahout (the man in charge of an elephant) used to pick a certain type of leaf as he passed the tree. I asked him out of curiosity what it was for, as I saw him rubbing it between the palms of his hands and chewing it in his mouth.

I was told it was called "Daun Biak" and had a potential drug effect. To those who smoked opium it gave an extra kick and it could help to alleviate the craving for opium too. According to opinion, the effect of this leaf was even worse than marijuana, for it gave the addict a dissipated look and wore him down badly.

The jungle can be a beautiful place with rivers and sparkling brooks and flowering trees. I once saw on my way to Durian Burong, which now has a flourishing sugar-cane industry, a tree with red flaming flowers which I can remember to this day, and I have never seen the like of it since.

Kuala Nerang was a malaria-infested area. No Government officer would want to go there, and no-one who had ever gone there had escaped from this dreaded disease. One of my first considerations was to carry out a survey and trace the breeding-grounds. All that it cost in those days to drain the area and free it from Anopheles was just $10,000, but the Government refused

to give the money.

Then my first wife caught malaria after she had given birth to my son. A European lady doctor from Alor Star came and gave her an intravenous injection, and she died instantly. It transpired that the quinine which she injected had not been diluted, and she never took the trouble to check it or to inquire, but gave the injection straightaway.

When I was asked by the State Secretary and the Menteri Besar not to take the matter to Court, I said it was the last thing I would do, as it was never my intention to make money out of my wife's death, but one thing I would insist upon was that the Government should carry out the anti-malaria project which I put forward.

That was done, and today Kuala Nerang is malaria-free, but it had to be bought with the life of a young woman who was still at the peak of her youth and in perfect health.

The district itself is called Padang Terap and Kuala Nerang is the seat of the Government. There were about a dozen shop-houses and one petrol kiosk. The rest of the District was all jungle, kampungs and hills.

It was once a lawless district, but has now become a peaceful place full of rubber estates and metalled roads reaching to the remote corners of the area. There is a big sugar-cane plantation with a factory turning out sugar.

It has now become as prosperous as any other district in the State and, what's more, a district that had given no time to religion with a mukim carrying the name of Tolak, has now started a Balai Islam, the second one to be built in the State. Things happen which we least expect, and it is all for the good of men. May God preserve it that way always!

Chapter Five

Language of a Cultured People

A Malaysian citizen of Chinese descent once wrote to a newspaper correcting a mistake in the form of address towards a Tunku. He said the correct word, when speaking to me, is "Patek". The fact that this error is pointed out by one who is not a Malay prompts me to take up the subject of our national language.

The Malay language is a beautiful one. It can add letters of the alphabet to suit the tongue of all races. The use of "r" fits in with French timbre and German gutterals or the rolling tongues of the Scottish and the Tamils, or the tonal qualities of the Japanese and Chinese, while the use of "l" can smooth down the barrier of contact between the tongue and the roof of the mouth.

A Japanese may find the use of "l" hard, but with a little practice he can overcome the difficulty. At least if he cannot, it will not make the meaning of the word he intends sound too awkward. Once I was on a Japan Airlines plane, when, some fault having occurred, we could not land in Hong Kong, and had to hover for an hour or so, much to the discomfort and concern of the passengers.

Finally the pilot made a crash landing but bringing the plane down safely. The next thing we heard was a voice from the cockpit, "We hope you enjoyed the fright". Of course, we all knew only too well what the voice really meant.

Similarly, a Japanese when asking for a glass jar or "balang" will point to it and say, "Itu barang", meaning "That thing". There can be no mistake whatsoever, even though he meant to say "Itu balang".

In fact Malay is easy to learn and pleasant to hear, being expressive in delivery, at its best, with words borrowed from Europe, the Middle East, South Asia and China; but then what language is free from borrowing?

It is a pity, however, that attempts have been made to trans-

late foreign words which have been in common usage among the Malays, whereas the Malays themselves have never heard of the new words. Since they do not understand what the new words mean, they still continue to use nouns like doctors, engineers, nurses, etc. The object should always be to enrich the language, but not to cause confusion at this stage of its development.

When the Dutch occupied Indonesia, they decided to use Malay as it was the language of the natives of the East Indies. When Indonesia fought for and won her Independence, the free Government of Indonesia decided to adopt Malay as the country's national language, even though the great majority of the people in Indonesia speak either Javanese or numerous other languages and dialects.

The differences between the languages as spoken in Indonesia and Malaysia rest mainly on spelling and pronunciation, because of the use of the Dutch Romanised alphabet, while here we employ Romanised English, but if words are written in Jawi characters, then the differences are nil.

The Malay language is spoken by the peoples in the whole of Malaysia, Java, Sumatra, Celebes and Kalimantan, making up a total population numbering not less than 130 million people; therefore it is a very widely-spoken language. Traces of it can be found in the Pacific Islands, and in the language of the Maoris of New Zealand.

In 1973, the Governments of Indonesia and Malaysia decided to adopt a new spelling system in order to narrow the differences. This gave rise to a lot of confusion, particularly among people of the old school like myself. The changes caused a lot of bother, and more often than not, some laughter. However, slowly but surely, people got used to hearing the new words, and there were fewer jokes being made. Now the time has come when students of the language should take a greater pride and interest in studying their language and in using it properly.

Malays of age-groups younger than myself should be more adept in the language; in fact they should give the lead. If they do not know what words to use on a given occasion, then they should ask. However, I see clearly that the school curriculum should be looked into, and that the correct textbooks should be used so that the language can be studied to advantage.

When I started my weekly articles I was asked why I did

not write in Malay. My reply was that the English language reached a wide audience among the people of Malaysia, and at this stage of our development it was still better understood by the intellectuals. Besides I talk to the Malaysian people in English, I talk to God in Malay and to my enemies in Greek!

When I became President of UMNO in 1951, I also took charge of "Suara UMNO", our party paper which soon made its mark with the public, and for a nondescript cyclostyled news-sheet, it was quite a success. With the profits this paper earned, we were able to buy our own printing machine.

In the early days of my editorial work I had the help of Tan Sri Syed Ja'afar Albar, then the UMNO Publicity Officer, but as the volume of work increased, we had extra help and its circulation continued to be good. So I can write Malay, or at least dictate it while others do the "donkey-work". I took a great deal of interest in the language, becoming quite proficient in it, and I was able to convey my ideas and thoughts to the people in my own simple way.

Bahasa Malaysia* is the language of a cultured people, not just a rough language to be used anyhow. It has its forms of address for people in different strata of society, and it is expected that Malays in the Public Service would know how to use these. As in the Thai language, there are words for use in addressing persons of different stations in life.

A Sultan is addressed as "Tuanku" and for "I" "Patek", and Tunku and other members of Royalty "Tunku" and for "I" "Patek", and for "Yes" — "Ku". These are used as a matter of courtesy, not forced upon anyone.

The Malay language has other words which are used in conversation with members of Royal families or persons of high rank, e.g. for "mandi" (bathe) the polite Royal word is "bersiram"; for "makan" (to eat) "santap"; for "duduk" (stay) "bersemayam"; for "pergi" (go) "berangkat"; for "tidur" (sleep) "beradu", and so on.

There are many other words which can be used through public address systems, but the people in charge of Television and Radio Malaysia do not take pains to do so. It takes a Chinese who is obviously a student of the language to detect a mistake, while Malays who have fought to make Malay the national

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* The official description of the Malay language.

language of this country care very little about using the language correctly.

In a monarchy like Malaysia, there are more reasons why the Malays should make a proper study of their own tongue. To use "you" and "I" in Malay as one uses them in English destroys the beauty of the language. It's all right, however, when speaking to intimate friends.

For a stranger the correct form of address is "encik" not "anda". The correct form of address to members of the public is "Tuan-tuan". What "anda" means I really do not know; it is certainly new to me.

The first time I heard "anda" being used was after my return from Jeddah in 1973. Whoever was responsible for introducing that word must have done so with a vengeance for it does not sound at all pleasing to the ear, and is quite bereft of any meaning. Yet this is the word which Television and Radio Malaysia, the Government mouthpieces, use when addressing members of the public.

It is not because I am a member of a Royal family that I want to be addressed correctly, but as I do take pride in Malay, I feel that the Government-sponsored mass media should play their proper roles in helping to educate the public. We who want others to learn our language, and are determined to make it the one and only language in this country, must set an example, and in doing so let it be a good one at that.

When I was in Jeddah in 1971 I had a letter from a high Government official asking me to surrender my railway passes and other privileges as a Member of Parliament. The language he used then read something like this: "Saya minta tuan serah balek tiket2 keretapi". (*I request that you surrender your Railway tickets*).

In reply I wrote: "I have not given up my birthright, i.e., YTM Tunku. All that I have given up is my seat in Parliament". Translated in Bahasa Malaysia this reads: "Saya tidak buang gelaran sebagai 'YTM' dan saya tidak buang pangkat saya sebagai 'Tunku' cumanya saya letakkan kerusi saya dalam Parliamen". Needless to say, the high official apologised profusely.

I have even been addressed as Encik Tunku, but this I put down to ignorance, not as being intended to belittle me. Only the other day a Telecommunications repairman came to my

house in Batu Ferringhi and addressed me as "Pak Haji". To him this was an endearing term, and if I look every inch a Haji I take it as a compliment, but for High Government officials to address me as "Tuan" instead of Tunku", the name and title by which I have been known all these years, is inexcusable.

Indonesia is different from Malaysia, because Indonesia has done away with Sultans as Heads of State. It is a Republic. The Head of State is the President, and Indonesians have their forms of address for their Head of State which differ substantially from those in Malaysia.

When Dr. Soekarno was the President he wanted himself to be addressed as Yang Mulia Bung (Abang) Soekarno, whereas President Suharto is addressed as Yang Mulia President, or sometimes Bapa Suharto. But there are no hard and fast rules in forms of address in Indonesia.

Yang Mulia President, Yang Mulia Bapa, Yang Mulia General, and for others Bapa or Saudara — all these forms of address are used in Indonesia, and may sound very strange to the people of this country. I am sure if someone were to address our Yang Dipertuan Agung as "Bapa Agung" he would fall off his throne!

I remember once when the present Governor of Penang, Tun Sardon Haji Jubir, was pulled up by that grand old man, Tunku Besar Burhanuddin, with these words: "You are now a Minister, so you must know how to use the correct forms of address". Sardon took the hint in a sportsmanlike manner, and from then on he became a good student.

There are some Malays who consider themselves the equal of everyone and do not subscribe to titles or to the idea of Royalty. These Malays are generally associated with the movement for the establishment of a republic.

How becoming a republic will help the Malays, who form but 50 per cent of the population, is difficult to understand. However, everyone is entitled to his own views. But if a republic replaces a monarchy, it can happen only with the help of the communists, and except for those few people and their friends the Malays themselves on the whole will be the losers.

So I say to those would-be republicans: "Thank God for His kind mercies and be content with what you have". Royalty has no power to kick anybody about or around. If anyone tried to, an Act of Parliament would put a stop to it, and a Tunku can

be as poor as a church mouse; in fact most of them are. But a republic with communist help can be a source of trouble to us all. Our way of life and our religion might be "disturbed"; and that is putting it mildly. You have only to note what is happening in certain areas of Southeast Asia.

A President can be as ruthless or cruel, or as spendthrift or extravagant as the Pharaohs themselves once were, but our Yang Dipertuan Agung is a Constitutional Head of State. There is a vast difference.

Let me repeat what the First Yang Dipertuan Agung said when he was once asked by a foreign monarch to sack me as Prime Minister. His reply was: "He, the Prime Minister, can sack me, but I can't sack him".

Chapter Six

Sincere Friends

A newspaper columnist — "Bajang" of "Utusan Melayu" — with sarcastic humour has written about my singing to the tune of "Bungah Tanjong" on the night I celebrated my birthday a few years ago in Penang. He suggested that it would have been grander if Tun Mustapha were to play the violin and I to sing, while he played the drums for us.

I replied thanking him for the compliment, saying that Tun Mustapha himself would be happy to play the violin, while I would be equally happy to sing, provided that "Bajang" danced to our tune. We can find a good drummer whom we can trust to accompany us, but I am sure it would be too much to expect "Bajang" to keep in tune with our music.

In the atmosphere of political disharmony at present, it is hard to know whom to trust, less still someone like "Bajang", who is obviously in the opposite camp. As long as we know who they are it is well to keep them at a proper distance and ourselves out of harm's way.

Once before "Bajang" had occasion to have a dig at me when the BBC Overseas Service reported that if Malaysia should suffer a severe crisis I might return to serve the nation, and that I would do so willingly, and in whatever capacity I was required to work. "Bajang" retorted that he "hoped and prayed the country would never meet such a crisis". In other words, what he meant was that he and his crowd hoped that I would never return to politics.

It has never been my intention to return to power, as I enjoyed it for a great number of years, far more than anyone else has. Whatever I have done, be it right or wrong, is for the people to judge. As an adage correctly says: "The proof of the pudding is in the eating".

One comment made at that birthday party is worth mentioning. My good friend Mohd. Khir Johari, in the course of a speech in his jocular vein, remarked that when I retired from power I handed over a fat cow with plenty of milk.

Where is the milk now? At that time Malaysia had gold reserves in plenty, the country was rich and enjoyed great prestige and honour abroad. To some people I might have been "The Tunku", but at least I had been the lucky one for having led our country to Independence, and also by the grace of Allah, to prosperity and peace.

I do not intend to boast or even to discuss my good fortune; I do so only in defence of myself. Some think I achieved a lot, others that I accomplished nothing, but for myself I realise that Allah has blessed me with good fortune.

For instance, I have a good constitution, enjoy good health and have many true friends who have helped keep me happy. I am able to indulge in many activities. I can sing and dance, and do many other things which many men far younger than I are not able to do.

As the late Tun Razak used to say, when making jokes at my birthday parties: "For Tunku, many things only exist in the mind". I can still enjoy life to the full at the age of 75, thanks to Allah and the loyal friends I have. What's more, I have had a most astounding success in racing, for my horse, "Think Big", won the Melbourne Cup two years in succession.

I own "Think Big" in partnership with Datuk Tan Chin Nam and Rick O'Sullivan, and our second victory came at a time when Malaysia's image in Australia had suffered a slight setback.

Our victory helped to freshen up Malaysia's good name a little, as an old former Prime Minister held an owner's share in the horse. Our success meant a great deal to the people in the Anzac countries, as Malaysia had won the biggest sporting event in that part of the world, becoming the only nation outside themselves to have done so. I am very proud indeed of that achievement, not so much for personal gain, but for the glory that victory gave my country.

On the question of my friendship with Tun Mustapha, the esteemed affection and love we have for one another is spontaneous and mutual. As I have said, in the present atmosphere most friendships are based on the importance of the posts held — the bigger the post the more friends a man has.

I used to have many friends when I was the Prime Minister, but now that I am retired only my intimate friends are still with me. What's more, I have many friends among all races, who do not count on me as such for who I am, but for what I am. These are

my true friends.

However, one of the most outstanding among all my friends is Tun Mustapha. When I took over the post of Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, I had hard times to endure. I had to use every resource of tact and diplomacy I knew to bring Muslims of diversified interests together, to get them to work and understand one another, and finally to persuade them to give their little contribution for the good of each and all, in the name of Allah and for the benefit of Muslims as a whole. For the first two years I received no pay, only a token salary of $10 a year. Nobody cared, and no-one helped me.

I never received any benefit from my $4,000 pension for it was held back to pay my income tax. When he heard of my plight, Tun Mustapha was the only one to help me. All I knew was what I learned from a bank manager — he said that a friend, who refused to divulge his name, had paid £5,000 into my account. I thought, "Perhaps it is King Feisal". I only learned about my actual benefactor by accident, not from him personally, but from someone else.

Whatever anyone may say about Tun Mustapha, none can deny that he is a perfect gentleman, and a very religious man. His only fault is that he is too generous, and many times he has given help to the wrong people. That help he gave me will always remain in my memory for as long as I live.

The last verse of "Bungah Tanjong", which I sang on that birthday celebration night ends with the words, "Hilang akal kerana budi" ("Lost the mind because of gratitude"). Tun Mustapha had nothing to gain by giving me help when I needed it so much, but he showed by example what it really means "to be a friend in deed". When he landed on the rocks through the defection of some of his party members — among them were the Governor of Sabah and the Finance Minister — many of his intimate friends left him like rats from a sinking ship.

His fault had been that he had used State funds extravagantly. Why did his colleagues allow him to do so when in fact they could have stopped him? They were all members of the State Executive Council; all of them had the right and the power to say "Yes" or "No" to Tun Mustapha so why did they say "Yes"? It appears to me, looking back from this distance, that they were encouraging him to do so, hoping thereby to give him sufficient rope to hang himself.

When the purchase of planes for Sabah was made known to the Press and criticised in some quarters, they thought that an opportune time had arrived for Tun Mustapha to hang himself. They did not even wait to tell him so, but took action against him while he was away from the State. They did not reckon on two of his friends rallying to his support.

It was a perfidious act of betrayal, one to which I could never agree, nor could anyone in his right senses, knowing the circumstances, subscribe to it either; yet they took this course of action, and with the blessing of the Central Government. I supported Tun Mustapha, but I was not singing to his tune; I did so with full sincerity in my heart. He won the day, because right was on his side; and he had a better claim to it than the others arraigned against and fighting him.

Quite apart from his outward appearance as a gay cavalier, he is also a deeply religious man. No single man in the Muslim world has done as much for Islam as he has. The hundred thousand or more converts in the small State of Sabah, with a population of less than half a million, is an apt testimony of his achievement and success as a true son of Islam. Every year he visits Mecca with hundreds of devotees from Sabah. He spent much time and money going round the country-side attending to cases of hardship among the people, helping them to improve their lot in life. So he became a very popular man and the idol of his people.

Can those others who try to stake a claim to the leadership of the State boast of such an achievement? It is not for anybody outside Sabah to interfere in the State elections. Let the people themselves decide by popular vote which party they would like to run the State. This is fully in keeping with the democratic principles we are supposed to uphold, and whichever party is returned to power, then that party must be accepted by the Central Government as the popularly-elected Government of the State.

According to Tun Mustapha he will stand for election, but he is not interested in becoming Chief Minister again, at least not so soon after he has retired of his own accord.

"Bajang" is probably concerned that I might return to politics. He need not be. I am happy with my life as it is, and I want to remain happy until I die. Had I been ten years younger there is no knowing what I might have done, bearing in mind circum-

stances as they are today. I am delighted to be in a position to help a particularly good friend like Tun Mustapha. I am happy to be still in the mood to laugh, to sing and to play.

Chapter Seven

Seventy-five and Still Going Strong

How do I feel to be seventy-five? How else can I feel, except that I am seventy-five and thank God to be alive and able to do most of the things that I used to do? For instance, I can still play golf, and with the help of the golf-cart I can even play eighteen holes in bright sunshine.

I can still enjoy a game of cards till one o'clock in the morning, and I enjoy attending race meetings wherever they are held — in Malaysia and Singapore. And what's more, after my early morning prayers, and as soon as a ray of sunlight brightens the sky, I will be at the stables or racing-track to see the horses train.

And I can relax in the evening, although the television puts me off, but I can still read and write.

At the age of seventy-five I produced a book, described by Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, who wrote the foreword, as follows:

"I have been reading your book 'Looking Back' and enjoyed every word of it, written with great candour, humour and wisdom by you. It is an important as well as attractive contribution to the study of some fascinating bits of history".

The book was printed by Pustaka Antara, the script taken down and typed by my "old faithful", Jee Guan Huat, and sometimes by another "old faithful", Cheah Phee Cheok, and edited by Frank Sullivan.

These "Monday Articles" were started as a hobby, in December 1974 with a desire to revive memories of the past. Then my recollections caught on with the English-reading public, and so I continued the series to the end of 1975. Then I started with events of current interest in a new series, "As I See It", and this created equally-great enthusiasm among Malaysian readers. As a result *The Star* gained popularity and eventually spread its scope of operations to Kuala Lumpur and other centres in Malaysia.

All this is very refreshing to a man my age. It gives greater incentive to do better and a will to live, and to make the re-

mainder of my life a meaningful one. The greatest asset, and a heavenly gift at that, is the fact that I don't complain of creaking bones or pains in the body as many a younger man is wont to do in these days of fast living, rich food and giddy and erratic behaviour.

Another factor with which I am favoured is that I have many friends, rich and poor, old and young, of all races who keep me entertained and make my life happy. I have given up politics; perhaps that helps ease my mind and relieves me of many worries.

I am now engrossed with a more pleasant type of work, that of religion. All that I have to do is to create goodwill, friendship, harmony and peace in this country through faith in God and the Holy Prophet Mohammad. By the will of Providence and God's mercy all this work has achieved great success, so what more can I hope for or wish for except to be allowed to live my life and to do my work.

I recall all the successes, trials and tribulations which I had to go through, or have gone through in the past. All in all, I have come out unscathed with no scar to tell the tale. My own people, the Malays, and those who have come to dwell here and make a home of this country, have lived through periods and years without a hope in the world, other than a desire to carry on as their ancestors had done before them. Then I had the honour of being the one to be called upon to fight for Merdeka.

After Independence we worked very closely with the British regime. We became intimate associates with our old friends, the British, who have said: "We won over a colony as a friend". With this they carried out a policy under "the winds of change", giving Independence to all the other colonies of Britain.

Unfortunately, the change-over was too fast and the newly-independent countries have not acted as the old power had hoped they would. Instead, some went over to the Communists, and a few remained loyal to the Commonwealth fraternity.

Independence was a great occasion for celebration in Malaya, and for me it was the greatest achievement of my life. As a politician and Prime Minister I based my policy on common-sense, fairness and justice with my mind on happiness and peace for all, believing deeply that "A leader must be able to give peace to the country and happiness to the people".

Any man who comes into a position of power, endowed with supreme authority, is tempted to use it to gain his ends without

a care for the consequences. In my time there were leaders who kept on beating their chests and shouting their odds like demons, proclaiming their importance to the world, while their own peoples starved.

In fact that was the fashion when I took office, but I went my way silently and did my work without caring what others thought. All that concerned me was my work and the well-being of the people and prosperity of the country.

A friend from Singapore had occasion to advise me to talk like others. I told him that it was not my style, and was no way to get things done. The Chinese have a way of making themselves heard on the stage, even every word the actors and actresses utter is accompanied by the banging of cymbals and drums. Some politicians are like actors on the stage — instead of cymbals they beat their chests. I beat only those who are out to make trouble!

The silent type has appeared on the scene in world politics today, and therefore more honest work is being done. The noisy type like Hitler brought death to many millions of people and disaster to their countries, but the quieter types bring life and sense to the people they lead.

By nature I am a quiet man though some politicians have insinuated that I depend too much on intuition. It is a lucky thing for any politician to have intuition, for it is not given to many.

Other leaders in Malaysia and Singapore have said they do not base their work on intuition but on wisdom and farsightedness. I replied that there are many such highly-qualified men in the world, but a good man with both education and with intuition is hard to find.

Recalling our merger with Singapore, I remember the days when Mr. David Marshall was Chief Minister of Singapore. He was keen to join Malaya, but I knew he was not a Chinese, clever and outstanding though he might be as a lawyer and a politician. Not being a Chinese he would not hold power for long in a Chinese-dominated state, and if Singapore must join Malaya it must have at its head a strong leader with strong supporters.

The next man, one who is a close friend and who later became a Muslim, Haji Omar Lim Yew Hock, also was anxious for a merger. Though a Chinese he did not have the strong character

or personality which could ensure for himself the support of the Chinese population. So I refused to accept a merger with him.

Then Mr. Lee Kuan Yew came on the scene with his personal dynamism and worked himself into my confidence. I knew he was the man who could hold power, so I accepted Singapore into Malaysia. He promised that he would stand by our Constitution and respect Malay rights.

Soon after joining Malaysia, he broke his promise. That was only to be expected of him. Nevertheless he has held on to power and managed Singapore with admirable success. Whatever his faults may be, he has proved himself one of the worthy leaders of South-East Asia.

When I retired in September 1970, His Majesty the late King Feisal asked me to help the cause of Islam by organising the unity of Islamic nations. I went with a handful of men to Jeddah and included among the six was a Chinese, S.A. Lim. The others were Ali Abdullah, Razak Hussein, Omar Din, Redzuan Aminuddin and Yunus Mezan. We toiled day and night going through difficult times in order to build a nucleus for the Secretariat of Islamic Foreign Ministers.

The Arabs were not prepared to accept new ideas, for they are always suspicious of others. Silently we pressed on until after three long years of perseverance, forty countries joined the organisation, and for the first time in the history of Islam, nations stretching across the continents of Asia and Africa came together, sworn to work together in the cause of Islam.

Then I set up the Islamic Development Bank in 1975, the purpose of which was to give real meaning to Islamic unity. With all the money the oil-rich nations have, they must think of extending a helping hand to the poor Muslim countries by providing them with loans for developing their natural resources. There were even more obstacles put in my path, but with good and worthy projects it soon found acceptance by the member-countries. The Saudi Arabian Finance Ministry has taken over from me, and that should give it a good start.

Before I concluded my mission in the Middle East, I also had the signal honour of starting the Conference of Islamic Cultural Centres and Bodies in Europe. At the meeting in London in 1973 a Council of Europe was set up. This is the focal point of Islamic unity in Europe, and the work it set itself to do will be of immense value to Islam.

One man who gave me all encouragement and help was a noble personage, the late King Feisal ibni Abdul Aziz, whose devotion to his country and Islam cannot be measured in words. It was due to him that the Islamic Secretariat and the Development Bank were founded and that the Muslim Council of Europe came into being, and he it was who helped to complete the London mosque, first conceived early in 1920.

He has returned to Allah; blessed is he who has done so much for his people and for his religion. His memory must remain for all time in the hearts of all good Muslims. I can never forget his words: "I know all your faults, and I am not asking you to be an Imam, all I want you to do is help organise Islamic unity in the name of Allah". God bless him, I have done my work and he rewarded me with the highest Saudi Arabian order.

After completing my work in the cause of Islam, I was free to return home and rest, but it was not to be for long, as Perkim, the Muslim Welfare Organisation Malaysia, which I had founded in 1957 soon caught up with me. I was immediately made President and now I have to work even harder than before.

There are lots of disappointments in politics and troubles galore, but in religious work the air is clean and free from political pollution.

My fault in politics was perhaps that I wanted to keep it clean, and those who aimed to soil it wanted me out of the way even sooner than I had declared my intention to retire. Their intention was to destroy my image by cutting short my term of office. Many of them amassed wealth and fortune in a short space of time, and many of them are paying for it now, and only time will tell what lies in store for the others.

I remember when I left the General Meeting of UMNO for the last time in 1970, there was a shout of joy from the back of the hall. My retort was, "Listen to the voices of the merchants of evil" (referring to the merchant in "Aladdin and His Wonderful Lamp", who was trying to recover the magic lamp by offering new lamps for old). Only a handful of old faithfuls walked out with me to the door to wish me good-bye. The meeting continued without a break.

What followed was even worse. I was treated like a political pariah. All my activities in the Middle East were blacked out. Finally, to crown it all, the Conference of the International Islamic News Agency in August 1972 which I had called in

Kuala Lumpur, for which I had booked the main conference hall in the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka months ahead, was given over for use for the signing of the Spelling Agreement between Indonesia and Malaysia, and our conference was pushed to another hall on the sixth floor, one absolutely unsuited for an international conference.

Immediately after the conference ended I moved the delegates to Penang and my friends on the Island gave them a grand reception to make up for the loss of face which I had suffered in Kuala Lumpur.

Many more snubs I suffered in silence. Then the little "Star" fell on my lap and I remained silent no more. To quote Omar Khayyam's famous words:

> The moving finger writes and having writ,
> Moves on; nor all thy Piety nor Wit
> Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line
> Nor all thy Tears wash out a Word of it.

Looking back on all these years I am happy to think that I have lived well and above all I have a happy family, blessed with grandchildren and adopted ones. And I have many friends who have also helped to brighten my life.

Chapter Eight

Tumult in Every Land

Of late there has been much news about well-known world figures making either a name or a nuisance of themselves. It depends on where they are; to their followers, maybe, they make a name, but in most cases they are a nuisance to others. This follows the normal trend of global events, and the impact they have on the minds of different people. The world is never quiet or calm. Without such happenings or outbursts, people would lie quietly in bed and wake up without anything to interest, annoy or madden them.

Such incidents make life exciting, and keep the world spinning giddily around, but there is no cause for real alarm except for those directly affected by their actions. We Malaysians have also domestic political problems, just as these others, only ours are not as bad. I have always said and truly believe that to keep oneself calm and composed and maintain peace of mind, one should pray. The five prayers a day performed according to the movement of the sun, from before dawn to bed-time, are a medicine for mind and body.

Now let us take the case of General Idi Amin of Uganda. I have received a letter from a friend of mine in the House of Lords, who shows great concern over Amin's administration and acts of repression. The magazine "Time", which he passed on to me, contains a report about a massacre of the Langi and Acholi tribes. According to "Time", all members of those tribes serving in either the Police, the Armed Forces or the Prisons Services are being liquidated on the orders of the President. This is very disturbing and shocking news, if true, for it must break up the unity of the people and destroy all ideas of nationhood in Uganda.

"I do hope, therefore", my friend writes, "that you will use your considerable influence in both political and religious spheres to bring what pressure you can to bear upon General Amin and his Government to moderate their behaviour". Will Idi Amin listen to words of wisdom from a "has-been"? He is very much a

dictator and likes the world to know it, and as with all dictators, "Might is always right". He may well put me in my place by saying, "It's none of your business". However, in the name of humanity I will write to him, as I met him in Mecca when he came on pilgrimage and he appeared quite well-disposed towards me.

In the House of Lords, questions were raised "on the need to suspend Uganda's membership of the Commonwealth pending the return of that country's Government to an observance of the basic human rights of its citizens". Many such questions were brought up in the House, indicating the fears of the civilised world about the behaviour of General Amin and the effects of his tyranny.

On the other hand, General Amin contends that these people were planning to depose him. It is a question of "either he goes, or they go". While he has the strength and the power he considers it is better that they go.

Let me state clearly that acts of brutality and political murder are no solution to security problems in any human society. Security measures can be taken against opposition, or rebels, as they are done here, and these have proved effective without contravening the basic principles of human rights as guaranteed by the United Nations Charter.

In Singapore the Government tucks away a few recalcitrant opposition leaders for safety for a couple of years because they have been audacious enough to attack the person of the Prime Minister. When they come out of detention they will be sure to abstain from politics for a time, and be less likely to have the stomach to contest the next elections and say bad things about Mr. Lee Kuan Yew.

Some people have put the number of those who have disappeared since General Amin took over power six years ago as 50,000. As a result there is now widespread discontent and fear both in the villages and in Kampala. The economy has slumped and social development in education and other services has largely been abandoned, partly as a result of the diversion of funds to the security forces. It is also admitted that as a result of the acts of repression carried out by the Government, there have been several attempts made to assassinate Amin.

If General Amin were to follow security measures as adopted in this part of the world, his actions would pass off unnoticed.

According to reports, he has over-reacted himself, venting his wrath on his own people, and this has raised an outcry of disgust and clamour against him.

Now to India,* where Parliament has passed a Constitutional Amendment Bill with the aim of making Parliament all powerful, with supreme authority over the Constitution. Parliament has no right to interfere with the Constitution, in particular with the fundamental rights and individual liberties enshrined in the Constitution. This is also true for any country that subscribes to a Parliamentary democracy.

Once Parliament asserts its supremacy it can interfere with any part of the Constitution to give it power over life and death. One of the first actions of the Parliament of India was to extend its own life by one year.

As a result of this Constitutional amendment, many leading politicians and statesmen who were once members of the same Party as the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi broke away from that Party. In the meantime, arrests have reached the staggering figure of 54,000 since Mrs. Gandhi proclaimed a State of Emergency on June 26, 1976.

According to her, it was necessary to amend the Constitution, both to make democracy work and to provide food for the people. Even her own aunt, Madame Vijayalakshmi Pandit, a world-figure herself in her day, came forward to oppose her. Now the late Mahatma Gandhi's grand-daughter, Sumitra Kulkarni, has also joined the Opposition, which is led by the former Deputy (and now) Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai.

The size of the political rallies indicates the people's support for the new party, and in the opinion of some, Mrs. Indira Gandhi will have a stiff time at the forthcoming election. Whatever the result may be, the hopes of the whole democratic world are that India's departure from democracy is only temporary to cope with the situation prevailing in the country. That, at least, is the assurance given by Mrs. Gandhi, the Prime Minister.

In the meantime, in the Philippines priests and others are up in arms against President Marcos, who has held power in the country for the past five years under a State of Emergency.

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* This was written while Mrs. Indira Gandhi was still Prime Minister. She was defeated in the March 1977 general elections.

Among the Government actions they are fighting against are its birth-control programme and the repression of tribal minorities who are attempting to acquire land in the South. Despite the challenge from the churches, the Government still carries on with its wide powers, and there is no sign of a quick return to democracy.

It is reported that the "sharpest clash has been in troubled Mindanao, where the Government is also trying to preserve a fragile truce with the Muslim Moro rebels". In the Southern province Catholic clerics and lay-workers have pressed a vigorous campaign to organise small self-help communities among tribal Christian groups and squatters working undeveloped land in Muslim areas.

The Government views this rival political activity as highly provoking, and has forced two church radio stations in the region to close down, "being accused by the Government of transmitting coded messages prejudicial to peace and good order". The Muslims are doubtful of Christian honesty for permanent peace. If such a situation goes on in the Philippines, President Marcos' continued proclamation of a State of Emergency is at least understandable.

In our domestic scene there is no dearth of exciting news. Most people naturally want to know what is happening in Perak, where His Royal Highness the Sultan and Yang Berhormat the Menteri Besar Tan Sri Ghazali Jawi* do not appear to have hitched together quite so well — in other words, they do not see eye to eye.

Both are very much men of their own minds and their own ways. While one is Ruler under the Perak Law of Succession, the other is a man of the people, appointed in 1974 by the late Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak as Menteri Besar and as the representative of the Party.

According to His Royal Highness, "He was appointed at my pleasure, and this was one of the conditions of his appointment which the late Tun Abdul Razak had agreed to in 1974. Another condition was that he should be appointed only on trial". As far as I can recall, there can be no appointment of a Menteri Besar, the Executive Head of State, "on trial".

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* He has since resigned, and is now a Senator.

Under the Eighth Schedule Article 71 — (Provisions to be inserted in State Constitutions) Part 1 — the Ruler has the discretion to appoint a Menteri Besar, but there is no provision whereby he can sack him, the idea being he has the right to accept or refuse to accept the person whose name has been submitted by the Party which wins the election or commands the greatest number of seats in the State Assembly.

In the case of Perak, a coalition was formed whereby Tun Razak asked the Sultan to accept Tan Sri Ghazali Jawi as the Menteri Besar, and the Sultan accepted him "on approval". Once the Menteri Besar is there, he must remain there. Actually Tun Razak did agree to appoint him for a time as mentioned by the Sultan, but it so happened Tun Razak died. Whatever promise Tun Razak made, like all things, is carried to his grave. There is no point in invoking it.

What the Ruler could actually do in helping the Prime Minister to deal with the situation would be for him to stop sitting on the top of the world and shouting how much he likes or dislikes his Menteri Besar. One thing I can say is that the Menteri Besar is not just merchandise to be taken on approval.

In my time I have had to deal with no less than five examples of "love lost", between the Sultans and their Menteris Besar, and in each case it worked out quite smoothly. So I can see no reason why Datuk Hussein Onn cannot deal with just this one case, if he is given a fair chance to do so.

The Menteri Besar is the head of the State Executive Council, wielding power as provided for in the State Constitution. By convention or practice under the law, he can be disposed of by the Prime Minister as the head of the Party in power. The Sultan, of course, is the symbolic Head of State and under the Constitution he can do no wrong, just as the Agung is in respect of the nation.

I will not advise the Sultan to have a head-on clash with UMNO as it is the people's party, and it is the party that upholds and champions the Constitution which accepts the Ruler as the Head of State. My prayer is that perhaps His Royal Highness the Sultan of Perak might tone down a bit, and with that Datuk Hussein Onn, the Prime Minister, might have one problem less to deal with, and will be in a position to solve the main one without embarrassment to himself and the parties concerned.

Below is part of a poem from a friend in which I have inserted

some of my own words:

There's tumult in every land to-day,
And the "rights of man" are claimed!
Destroy, demolish and overthrow,
And the other side is blamed!
But who has the answer to all this today?
No, not the best of men;
'Tis only from Him, All-Knowing, All-Seeing,
Can we have peace on this earth again!

Chapter Nine

People & Politics

One evening not so long ago I was at a party where an argument broke out between a businessman and a politician. According to the businessman, politics is dirty; according to the politician, not all that dirty. So both turned to ask what my views were.

In the businessman's opinion if politics are not all that dirty, why does the nation forget the part played by leaders in years past in winning Independence for Malaya and Malaysia, and also all the resulting benefits that accrued to the country and the people, especially the poor? If politics is not dirty why should politicians and others want to make out those same people to be villains?

The politician countered by saying that Independence had been won by clean politics, and it was because of such clean politics that the nation enjoyed peace and prosperity. As to the rest, he had no answer. All he would say was that for Malaysia politics was epoch-making.

As for my own views, all I could say was that politics as such had a noble objective. Actually politics are clean, or are supposed to be, just as a piece of pure white cloth is clean. On the other hand, if dirt drops it shows up so much more clearly on white, so the cloth begins to look soiled and unclean.

It is not so much the fact that politics may be dirty, as the fact that there are people who commercialise it. I could quote so many instances, but I do not intend to discuss persons or parties here, but to speak in general about local and current politics.

We have had time and again, a lot of excitement about politics, which often causes shares to drop and then to rise. The Sabah election results in 1976, for instance, were against all expectations. Both voters and parties took an about-turn, even those who had previously given their support to the United Sabah National Organisation — but that's politics.

How it came about is difficult to gauge from West Malaysia,

but it did happen. Both sides spent large sums of money. Altogether for a population of about 200,000 voters, nearly M$20,000,000 was spent in the course of the campaign and the election. I have never heard of such a vast sum being spent here before.

Surely this is not clean politics, when such large sums of money are used to buy votes. In fact, the amounts that should be spent are regulated by election laws. The idea of holding elections is to keep abreast of modern political thinking, so like it or not elections must be held.

These elections took place to find out which party should take over the Government of Sabah, after the retirement of Tun Mustapha as Chief Minister. The people have now given their vote to the Berjaya Party and to Tun Mohamed Fuad*, formerly a Governor of Sabah and Vice-President of USNO.

In fact, ever since Sabah first took to politics there have been only these two leaders involved over there. When people drop one they choose the other. If this case follows the usual pattern, then the people had no choice but to pick Tun Fuad. In so far as Sabah is concerned, I don't think it matters very much to the people which party runs the State. All they want is to be able to live the life they are used to.

No matter whether Berjaya or USNO is in power, what concerns the people of Sabah most is that they will be happy and contented so long as they can go on enjoying themselves. They are the same people, the same policy is pursued and their politics involve no national issues — it is only Sabah that matters.

Tun Fuad promised to get rid of all the extravaganza. All's well, and we wish him luck, but many of the abuses took place during his term of office as Governor. As all matters of national importance are under the control of the Central Government, the Sabah elections produced no substantial changes.

One comment made against Tun Mustapha was that he wanted to get Sabah out of Malaysia, but any intelligent person knows that it would be impossible for him to do so. The Constitution of Malaysia governs the rights, privileges, duties and res-

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* formerly Donald Stephens, a journalist who entered politics and became first Chief Minister of Sabah in 1963. A good friend of Tun Mustapha, he broke with him and formed the Berjaya Party and defeated the ruling USNO. He died in a plane crash in May 1976.

ponsibilities of all its member-States. If a State is allowed to withdraw as it chooses and when it pleases, then Malaysia can break up in no time. Surely, no nation will allow itself to be shattered by the decisions of individual states. All that Tun Mustapha did say, and in my presence, was that the Central Government had not been kind to Sabah, as it refused to lend the State the money required for development. But, to be quite honest, he also behaved like a spoilt child.

Now that the elections have decided who is to take over power and run the State for the next five years, there is nothing more to be said. Let Sabah live on, and let all the politicians cooperate to maintain its well-being and integrity. The new party under Tun Fuad will carry on as best as it can.

A few nights after the elections I went to Tun Mustapha's house for dinner, and there I met all the successful USNO candidates. As I was leaving, I heard the reason why they were all collected together in Kuala Lumpur. It was done to prevent any of them from being bought over by the other party to make up a two-thirds majority in the Assembly, presumably to give legal validity to the appointment of a new Speaker. If that is so, then the name of politics is dirtied by those who play politics.

Politics should be kept clean. I can say for myself that when UMNO fought the first elections in Malaya we spent only $150,000 over the whole country. The MCA paid their own expenses and helped UMNO with transport, while UMNO's own workers helped the MCA. We had never heard of millions of dollars, and neither organisation hoped for or dreamt of ever getting such sums of money.

When I went to London in 1954 to hold my first discussions with the Colonial Office I even had to share the same bed as T. H. Tan, events which I have already recorded in my book, "Looking Back". We had very little money between us.

So I say here, those were days when our politics were really clean, noble and sacred. We went through all the procedures of getting Independence the dedicated, hard and honest way, and because of the purity of our ideals and our way of getting things done, God gave us Independence. We administered the country in a clean and impartial manner, and because we did so God gave us prosperity, peace and happiness, as well as victory over our enemies.

As time went on, and people became more business-minded

and less political-minded, politics began to get dirty. Politics will be clean if professed and practised by clean politicians. Politics is dirty, and painful when played by those whose methods and objectives are dirty, but to declare all politics dirty in itself is a wild exaggeration.

In my retirement, I can see what is happening around me. Perhaps this is because I am able to sit back, to talk and to write, but if I were to hurl myself into politics once again, I might not know how to adjust myself to my new surroundings, for times have changed very much, and politics today are not what they used to be.

Therefore, I always say that I like to remain outside politics, and so have peace of mind, and yet be able to speak up for the benefit of my country and people whenever I please. And I don't have to pay for it if I say so in the right way.

Just because certain untoward things have happened, good people should not turn their backs on politics. We need good politicians, particularly those who can aspire to be statesmen. Our country needs clean politics to hold the people together and to maintain peace, prosperity, to keep law and order, and to ensure and serve the well-being of our new nation.

When speaking about politics, I am reminded of Watergate; there is a case from which all can see and learn. What's going on in Africa, in South America or in the Middle East where murder, revenge, victimisation and disturbances are taking place daily, is far too extensive to mention. So I will confine my attention to our own sphere of political activities.

Recently I had a visitor from Sabah who told me about some of the shocking things that have been taking place in that State since the Elections in 1976. The Attorney-General, for instance, has been given notice to leave immediately, and an Army Officer, temporarily employed in the Chief Minister's Department as an Executive Officer, has been sacked on the spot. Also, all the heads of statutory bodies have been given notice terminating their services. There are 756 religious teachers recruited from West Malaysia who might be told to return home*, as well as others from Saudi Arabia. Many Government servants, seconded under the previous Government, are being transferred back to their home service. It is also reliably learnt that the Speaker

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* a few were asked to return

of the Assembly has been given notice to go. However, as the Speaker is appointed by the Assembly, he can only be removed by the Assembly. So any action to remove him in any other way is unlawful*.

The cases of the Government servants are not so bad, as many of them may in any event want to return. But what is worse, according to my informant, is that members of the victorious party, Berjaya, have gone about hurling insults at USNO members. One thing will lead to another, and the ultimate result might well be a break-out of petty skirmishes, escalating into violence. According to my informant, the next step might even be a State of Emergency, and then more USNO members might be taken into custody.

There is, of course, talk about sending refugees back to the Philippines if they so wish, but these people know what their fate will be if they return; there will be no mercy shown. So it will be in the interests of humanity for our Government to give them political asylum.

It was reported that one Returning Officer who spoke rudely to a senior Police Officer on Election Day has now been arrested and charged with behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace. Many such people will be taken in, there is no doubt, unless authority can temper justice with mercy.

This kind of attitude comes within my experience also. When the Alliance Party won 51 out of 52 seats contested in the Legislative Council in 1955, a colleague of mine asked me to deal severely with those Government servants who had gone out of their way to support the Opposition and to fight the Alliance. My reply was that in our hour of victory we must give thanks to God, and not talk of revenge.

The Government in power now, being religious-minded, should adopt the same attitude as I did, and for that God will give them His blessing. Intimidation, victimisation and recrimination will lead to endless trouble. On the other hand, fairness and justice will pay dividends in the long run. This is one way to make politics clean.

I remember that Communist China attacked India, when I happened to be visiting that country. I realised that the attack was an unprovoked act of aggression. Immediately, on my re-

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* This did not occur.

turn to Malaysia, I raised funds to help India. In fact Malaysia was the only country to do so, and because of what we did we incurred the wrath of one of our Muslim friends, Pakistan, which was then on terms of the worst enmity with India.

When I was Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers in Jeddah, I offered to visit Bangladesh with a delegation representing the wealthy Muslim countries to see how much we could help the unfortunate people there. India denied us a visit on the grounds that I refused to visit East Pakistan at the time of the civil war taking place there then.

How short is the memory of man! A while later I was in New Delhi reporting to the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, on my experiences during my visit to East Pakistan. When this was later brought to her attention, she admitted her mistake, but did not change her attitude in respect of our request to visit Bangladesh. In victory one forgets even one's strongest friends. That's the way of politics; and that's not clean politics.

To sum up — the Central Government must review the Constitutions of the Eastern States of Malaysia, under which various provisions are made. With all the happenings taking place now, events are likely to lead to unhappy consequences. To my mind, nothing should be left to chance.

However, politics are politics, rather like a bright light which can bring comfort as one of the amenities of life, but at the same time the very brightness also attracts plenty of insects and parasites. Politics we must have. We cannot do without politics, just as we cannot do without light. But keep it clean!

Chapter Ten

Power-Seekers in Government

Recently the Prime Minister, Datuk Hussein Onn, confessed at a State Banquet in Penang that a speech in which he was reported to have criticised civil servants was not in fact what he actually did say. "However", he stressed, "the Press is not to be blamed, because it was the mistake of my Department".

Datuk Hussein Onn said the speech reported in the Press was a draft which he had not read and approved, and this "draft" had earlier been distributed to the local mass media. In making this rebuttal, he said, "I did not make such criticisms whilst speaking at the dinner. I did not use the draft which was distributed to the Press, but one which I personally prepared". And like the gentleman he is, Datuk Hussein Onn apologised to Government officers for this unfortunate incident.

Obviously what was contained in the distributed "speech" must have come from the mind of the person who prepared the draft.

Datuk Hussein's open rebuttal shows a very serious dereliction of duty by the person or persons responsible for distributing a speech that the Prime Minister never intended should be made.

In a press report after the incident the Prime Minister's Press Secretary, Encik Abdul Wahab Majid, admitted his mistake in connection with the release of the Prime Minister's "speech". According to him, the speech he had drafted was agreed to by the Deputy Chief Secretary, and the draft was handed to the Prime Minister. Taking it for granted that the speech was approved, he had accordingly passed it to the Department of Information for release to the Press.

But if I remember correctly this is not the first time that such a mistake has taken place.

On March 23 1976, sensational news came over the radio and television to the effect that the UMNO Supreme Council and UMNO Youth had agreed to the dismissal of Datuk Harun Idris from his posts of Menteri Besar, Selangor and President of UMNO Youth, whereas, in fact, decisions on Datuk Harun's case

had not been made by these bodies. At that time UMNO Youth was holding a meeting in Datuk Harun's residence, and they were proposing to see the Prime Minister that evening to ask him to suspend any action the UMNO Supreme Council might be taking on Datuk Harun.

The news was not true; and whoever was responsible for passing it on did not have the Prime Minister's authority to do so.

I remember other occasions when Tun Razak was Prime Minister and also when Tun Dr. Ismail was Deputy Prime Minister when they were supposed to have made statements which they had never issued. No mention of this was ever made except by "those in the know", and therefore it was clearly a gross act of negligence and a serious breach of duty on their part.

This is what I meant when I talked of men around the Prime Minister who were trying to usurp power at his expense, and this is one of the methods they use to get their own way.

The Prime Minister is aware of their presence, but at the same time he is unable to curb their activities. No doubt this need for vigilance on his part will double the amount of work he has to do — what with having to look after the country and securing his own department against "termites" from within.

Clearly this "affair" was managed by them so that the Prime Minister would be publicly heard to express their will, even though it would cause unpleasant reaction among members of the civil service, the party and the public. In respect of the civil servants, the Prime Minister has publicly stated that "the proper functioning of Government depends on them as administrators, irrespective of who the leader is or which political party comes into power".

The function of a good Civil Service is to ensure that the progress and well-being of the country will be always maintained, and that it will carry out the policies of the Government in power, subject always to the Constitution. The Prime Minister must have the civil servants with him, not against him — that would have been the effect of the Press Secretary's release of the purported "speech" by the Prime Minister.

The main problem, however, as I have openly stated or hinted at before, is that the Prime Minister is surrounded by people of doubtful loyalty, whose ambitions are to exercise power, either for their own political ends or for personal gain, using the Prime

Minister's name for these purposes.

If such people can find their way into high posts and enjoy the confidence of the Prime Minister, their presence there can be a serious threat to the security and well-being of the country. These enemies "inside" fall into three types:-

- the fifth columnists. We know what their aims are — nothing less than to take over the Government for the enemy, and we know who these enemies are.
- the anti-national elements, who either have no conscience or nurse ill-will in their hearts and are ready to lend themselves to any plot likely to bring discredit to the elected Government.
- opportunists and parasites who flourish anywhere they see an opening and are ready to resort to anything for personal gain. In other words these are the "blue-bottle flies and sewer rats" who troubled me in May 1969.

We find a lot of power-crazed men present in the ruling party, in the Ministries and in higher appointments or positions of trust — people who are trying to assert their own authority and achieve their own ends by making use of the Prime Minister, his name and office.

Some time ago one man was charged in court with forgery and fraud by using the Prime Minister's office letterhead and signature (forged) to obtain credit. How did he come by it?

When I returned to Malaysia after my long sojourn in Jeddah, the management of *The Star* sought my help in maintaining its independence as a newspaper. According to them, a person with some authority in the Prime Minister's Department had planned to take over the paper for the Government on the purported instructions of Tun Razak.

I said that this could not be true, and so it turned out, because Tun Abdul Razak, who was Prime Minister at the time, knew nothing whatever about that move. So *The Star* was saved.

The Prime Minister, by virtue of the office he holds, is the highest executive officer under the Crown, and he has to be an extremely good judge of men and character, able to distinguish one type from another. He runs the risk of incurring the displeasure of some of his own colleagues if he tries to bring to book some of these characters around him. These people have friends among other Ministers who are bound to come to their assistance. In such a delicate situation the Prime Minister will invariably find himself isolated.

When I first took over the Government my intention was to make as few changes as possible. Uppermost in my mind was the paramount need to ensure permanent stability in Government. That was why I kept on expatriate civil servants for a period of years so that they could help train our own officers, who had all the time to take over from them, and thus benefit from their experience while they were still remaining in service. I even insisted that Malayans who took over any former expatriate post should receive the same salaries and allowances as the expatriate officers had.

Because of these actions of mine I was branded as pro-British and spineless by enemies; they charged that our independence existed only in name, that Malaya was neo-colonialist. I kept enemies like this at some distance, well away from me. I felt I knew what was good for this country, and so I braved these criticisms, and these policies paid dividends. In the end, this country enjoyed such prosperity, well-being and peace that we came out best among all the countries which had newly gained their Independence. These enemies then kept quiet for some time.

I had to make sure of having good colleagues, while the Government officials attended to their own work, but what was more I could keep out anyone whose loyalty was in doubt. This happened to one Minister, whose policy invariably ran counter to mine, and in the end he had to resign.

One practice of mine was for my colleagues to give luncheons in turn at the end of each Cabinet meeting, so that we could thrash out problems to our heart's content while filling stomachs in a congenial atmosphere. Any issue not resolved completely during a Cabinet meeting itself would be discussed at these luncheons. Now of course the Cabinet has grown so much in size that such luncheons would not be possible.

I also used to give monthly dinners for Government officers of all ranks, from the Heads of Departments to clerks. They came to eat and discuss anything at all, personal or official matters, but most of them spent their time either ribbing me or ragging one another.

As Prime Minister I was lucky to get all-round support, due, I realise, not only to my good fortune but also to my intuition and a frank simplicity that invites sympathy for me from men of goodwill.

Tun Razak had these men of whom I speak around him, and

he thought he was quite capable of taking care of them. Insofar as they kept within the bounds of administrative propriety, he would allow just so much freedom of action. Whether these men are still of use or not to Datuk Hussein Onn, who succeeded him in January 1976, is for him alone to say. They are not all Communists or fifth columnists; some are just plain opportunists. But they are there, and they can be a source of embarrassment to him. They will not allow anyone else to go near him, and anyone who is likely to be a nuisance to them will be conveniently kept out of the picture, and beyond the Prime Minister's reach.

Certainly they are not popular with UMNO and of little use to the country. One of these men was frequently criticised, either openly or anonymously. Tun Razak just turned a deaf ear, because he knew that the person could only do so much and not an inch more, and above all "he is his friend".

In the circumstances I am sorry for Datuk Hussein Onn, and so should others be. And this is the time when we can all join in to give him a helping hand. I was glad, therefore, to see that UMNO Youth Selangor are in fact concerned, and have taken a stand to support Datuk Hussein Onn. They went on the line that all these people around him were up to no good. They branded them as communists, but there are others as well — opportunists and parasites. It appears now that UMNO Youth are trying to purge UMNO of these people, and if they succeed Datuk Hussein Onn's task will be made considerably easier.

Malaysia has reached a critical stage when the Government must take a firm stand one way or the other. When we talk to members of the Government service or members of the public we find them rather gloomy about the situation in the country and about politics and economics.

Chapter Eleven

Political Partnerships

I promised not to delve into politics but the theme I have in mind is very involved and serious enough for me to break my promise. I refer to what is a secret no more, and that is the worsening relationship between a Ruler and his Menteri Besar. This happened once in Trengganu, but the causes there were different. It is not for me to go into these, but rather to try and work out a solution.

The two concerned, on one side a hereditary Ruler and on the other the people's representative, stand on a footing of political partnership which must be respected, and therefore maintained at the highest level on the best terms of goodwill and understanding.

A Sultan's prerogative is spelt out in the Constitution. In effect it means that the power held in colonial times is still enjoyed today under the Constitution. In those days Rulers used their power according to the advice they received from Residents and Advisers, and these were set out in Agreements between the British Government and the Rulers. These in turn formed the Constitution of each State.

Under our own Constitution the Menteris Besar and the Chief Ministers are the people's representatives, and as such the Rulers must act on their advice. To act otherwise would confound and confuse the people and upset the democratic Constitution which this country is sworn to uphold. This must be avoided at all costs, while the Ruler's position must be respected and due regard must be given to his person. Likewise, the role of the Menteri Besar as the leader of the State Assembly must not be ignored.

Under the Constitution, Article 181 states: "I. Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, the sovereignty, prerogatives, powers and jurisdiction of the Rulers .... within their respective territories as hitherto had and enjoyed shall remain unaffected".

Article 71, Part 1 states: "In the exercise of the functions

under the Constitution of the States ..... a Ruler shall act in accordance with the advice of the Executive Council, or of a member thereof acting under the general authority of the Council (Menteri Besar) except as otherwise provided by the Federal Constitution or the State Constitution".

The Ruler also has discretionary power with regard to the appointment of the Menteri Besar under Section 2. The Ruler shall first appoint the Executive Council, but before appointing the Executive Council he must appoint the Menteri Besar to preside over the Executive Council, a man who is a member of the Legislative Assembly. Such a person must in his judgment be able to command the confidence of the majority of the members of the Assembly and on the advice of the Menteri Besar, he shall appoint no more than eight and no less than four other members from among the members of the Legislative Assembly.

Under Section 6 of this article it is provided that if the Menteri Besar ceases to command the confidence of the majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly and then unless at his request (Menteri Besar) the Ruler dissolves the Legislative Assembly, he shall tender his resignation of the whole Legislative Assembly which includes himself. Subject to this section a member of the Executive Council shall, other than the Menteri Besar, hold office at the Ruler's pleasure.

This, in effect, means that the Ruler can sack a member of the Executive Council but not the Menteri Besar, who can only be ousted from office by the majority of members of the Legislative Assembly.

When I was in office as Prime Minister, five Menteris Besar resigned on their own. In other words, I found that they did not enjoy the confidence of the members of the State Assembly, so on my advice they resigned.

A vexed situation has arisen in the State of Perak where the Ruler and his Menteri Besar cannot see eye to eye and are unable to work or agree with each other. At the opening of the State Assembly in 1976, the Raja Muda had to perform the official ceremony. Perak is one of the premier States, and this aggravating situation should not be allowed to continue.

It is clear, however, that as long as the Menteri Besar holds office and enjoys the confidence of the State Assembly and Executive Council, the Ruler must put up with him for better or for worse. There is no other way out.

If at any time the Menteri Besar ceases to command the confidence of the majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly, then unless at his request the Ruler dissolves the Legislative Assembly, he shall tender his resignation of the Executive Council. The confidence in the Menteri Besar has so far not been challenged, so he stays.

This country enjoys an extremely good Constitution and under it the people wield a strong power through their elected representatives, while the Rulers on the other hand enjoy rights, privileges and the Royal Prerogatives unparalleled in any other part of the world.

The people through their representatives have a big say in the administration of the Government. This is how our democracy works, and under our Constitution the position of the parties is clear-cut.

The only way to overcome the present impasse is to reach an amicable settlement. They must come together and talk it out and not avoid one another. There must be a spirit of "give and take". Or, if they cannot come to a settlement, then the only course open for the Menteri Besar is to seek a vote of confidence in the State Assembly. If he gets a confirming vote, then the Ruler must accept it, out of respect for the wishes of the people. If the Menteri Besar does not get the vote of confidence, then he must resign, in which case a new Menteri Besar will be appointed.

This course of action must be taken only as a last and desperate resort, as it is bound to create a national crisis. If the decision goes against the Ruler, then it could have a withering effect on the reputation and prestige of the Ruler. The Ruler must appreciate that he is above the law and above politics. He enjoys the Royal Prerogative on the goodwill and loyalty of the people. Once an open clash or conflict occurs and it is not settled in time, the worst will happen.

Ours is the only country in the world that adheres to this age-old system of Sultanate and, simultaneously, Kingship. So far it has worked out well, and it is my prayer that it will continue to work well. In other countries of the East, Rulers and Rajas have all disappeared. They exist no more in India, Pakistan and Indonesia. Even Japan and Thailand have given up feudalistic titles.

The powers of the Sultans are so limited that their role in the legislature of each State is infinitesimal, except for their

powers over land and mines, and in these natural resources Perak is rich. This is perhaps the source of many misunderstandings between the Ruler and the Menteri Besar. What is the actual cause of the present trouble between them? I dare not say, but what is of importance to the State and the nation is that the present misunderstanding must be resolved.

The members of the Opposition in Perak have raised the question of the absence of His Royal Highness at the last State Assembly, but the Raja Muda deputised for the Sultan and on this ground the Ruler's absence was suitably accounted for. The Speaker was correct in not allowing debate on that point; but assuming that the Raja Muda, too, had refused to appear, what then?

Unless action is taken to put the matter right as from now there can be plenty of stress and strain between the parties in the future. Then the power of the people as against the Sultans will be put to the test. Nobody wants to see this happen.

What then is the remedy. As custodian of the Constitution, it is the Prime Minister whose duty it is to attend to democracy. We have the Conference of Rulers to defend the Rulers' sovereignty. These two must now get together and see how best they can settle the present conflict in the State of Perak.

The machinery for consultation must be set in motion and go into the whole cause of the trouble and prepare guidelines to meet any such exigency in the future. In other words, develop a code of conduct, rules and ethics to ensure good understanding between the Rulers and their Menteris Besar.

Chapter Twelve

No Place Like Home

Twenty years have come and gone. To some this may not seem long, but if you look at it this way — a boy born on August 31, 1957, is 20 in 1977, and if he was a year old at the time he would be of age, and a boy of ten would be middle-aged now — then you will realise Independence has been ours for quite a long time.

But a nation cannot be looked at as you would a man, for it goes on living for all time. Size does not count; small nations, like Luxembourg and Monaco, have continued to live on, while Empires and proud nations have fallen and disappeared from the face of the earth.

Time indeed has passed. Of all the Rulers at Independence, only two are alive today, namely, HRH the Raja of Perlis and HRH the Sultan of Trengganu, and by Izzin of Allah (the Will of God) I am still here and able to witness the changes that have taken place during these last twenty years, the most important and significant of which is the formation of the Coalition Government, the Barisan Nasional, in place of the Alliance of the UMNO, MCA and MIC.

The "Sailing Boat" that carried us to our dreamland has disappeared, and in its place we see the Daching. Can it give us the wealth and prosperity it symbolises? Let's hope it will.

I regret to see my friend and former political opponent Dr. Tan Chee Khoon, who has also had to throw in the towel due to ill-health, leaving behind Pekemas, the party he formed, in the hands of new men. The only other party in opposition now is the Democratic Action Party, DAP.

The Government today can be said to be in a strong position, because it represents all shades of political opinion, and can rightly be called a Government of the people. But is this so?

Reading Datuk Hussein Onn's annual report to UMNO in 1976, I was given the impression that he is most concerned with the situation prevailing in the country today. There is a lot of misun-

derstanding with little goodwill existing between the people and the Government and between the people themselves. This is a dangerous situation, which should not be allowed to continue, particularly for a nation with many racial groups.

A country such as ours must have the best of goodwill and good relations among the people themselves, as otherwise there is danger of conflict which, if it takes place, can break up the nation. Datuk Hussein Onn also said: "The policy of the party is to unite. UMNO must give a favourable picture to the people so as to avoid uneasiness and misunderstanding. Any questionable action can destroy the credibility of the party as the nation's prime leader. It is important that the spirit of unity under the slogan 'Bersatu' be implanted in all members".

In fact, what the Prime Minister meant was that leaders must not vie for power with one another, but work together in all honesty and sincerity for UMNO and the country. This is the role of UMNO members, and so it must be the role too of the members of other parties in the Barisan Nasional.

I wonder if he had in mind the trouble in UMNO Malacca, where the Chief Minister is having a lot of difficulties with party members and Assemblymen. If so, then he must act at once to prevent the trouble from getting worse and out of control. Anyway it should never have been allowed to go this far. Discipline being the keynote of UMNO's strength and its successful leadership in Malaysian politics, the leader of the Party should have exercised his authority earlier to end the squabble in Malacca.

Unless this is done quickly this slip-up will bring disrepute to the party in control of the State, and when the election comes along it will be hard to persuade the people to vote Barisan Nasional. I can well understand the Prime Minister's concern, for his duty must be to hold the nation together and stamp out any activity likely to cause a crack in the party's well-being.

Like the cautious leader that he is, he takes to the "fire-side chat" for his message to UMNO members. The others too, can take their cue from it for the good of our nation. We all look for happiness for ourselves and those of our dependants and descendants who follow us.

When I was in Taipeh recently I saw trees up-rooted and the roofs of houses blown off by the force of typhoon "Vera", which slashed the city with a violence unheard of, unknown or unseen in this country. After watching the terrific debacle for a few

minutes, I turned round to my friends and said, "This, we have never seen in our country".

When I was in Saudi Arabia in the midst of a sandstorm, forcing dust and particles of sand into my ears and nostrils, I said when I got to safety, "We never have this in our country".

Then in London, when I slipped in the frozen snow and hurt my "seat", I said, "We never have snow in our country, and the ice is not for the road but for us to quench our thirst and cool our systems".

When I got lost in the fog in London I said, "Thank God, we never have fog in our country". We have other ills, of course, and the worst of them is "a divided society".

I was asked what I would like to say to the nation on this twentieth anniversary of our Merdeka. I would like to ask all Malaysians to make a home of this country and make it an object of their sole loyalty, complete and absolute. Our Constitution and our laws were enacted to provide for this. It was agreed under the Constitution that anybody born here shall enjoy equal rights and privileges as citizens.

There was a protective provision made with the agreement of all races to preserve Malay rights and the position which they enjoyed in the colonial days. The reason for this was understood and appreciated, because the Malays had been left far behind in a "free for all" race to amass the wealth and riches available here.

The Malays were no match for the Chinese, Indians and other foreign capitalists. As a result of economic competition and other impediments, it was not possible for the Malays to achieve higher standards of living.

Good education was beyond the dreams of the Malay masses. Most kampung houses were without comfort and light. I used to see Malay boys studying under street-lamps as all they had in their homes were smoking kerosene-wick lamps. It was obvious, under the circumstances, that the Government must take steps to improve their lot.

This was done in my time without incurring the displeasure or ill-will or creating any feeling of jealousy among others. They looked upon this as something that ought to be done. Under the First Five-Year Development Plan ten acres of land each was given out to the Malays in the Malay Reservations, and a similar acreage to others outside the Reservations. There was a sense of

fairness and justice for all and so goodwill and understanding prevailed.

These are the safeguards for the Malays, and when Mr. Lee Kuan Yew asked to join Malaysia he promised to uphold this right as enshrined in the Constitution, but later he veered, and it was necessary then for the Malaysian Government to break away from Singapore, and that State was given its Independence. This was done to avoid possible repercussion and prevent bad blood as between the different races.

When we first obtained our Independence there were only nine per cent Malays among the staff of the University of Malaya. There were a handful of doctors and engineers and lawyers, and a dozen members in the MCS.

The policy of the Government, of course, was to give immediate thought to the improvement of the Malay social position in the only country he can call his own. As I said, it must take time and plenty of training before Malays can be ready to play their part fully in the life of the country, but in other fields they have adapted themselves with success. We must get others to help, but if the Government employs discriminatory methods in its handling of the business participation of the Malays, others will keep out.

Much tact and diplomacy must be employed to win the business community to the side of the Government. Those entrusted with the implementation of the bumiputra policy to help the Malays must not abuse the trust placed in them by trying to act big, and so the fault for the failure of bumiputra participation in business falls largely on the shoulders of inconsiderate and high-handed officials.

My only wish in life now is to see this country enjoy peace and happiness for all time. I am convinced that the people themselves can bring this about, if they and their descendants will only, I repeat, look upon this country as the sole object of their loyalty, their home and a place where they can rest their tired bones.

The Chinese must look upon this country as their home and not as a temporary abode, or worse still as another China, for there are so many Chinas already. The main one is the People's Republic of China with its 800 million people, and then the Republic of China (Taiwan) with 16 million people, then Hong Kong with about five million people, and Singapore with about

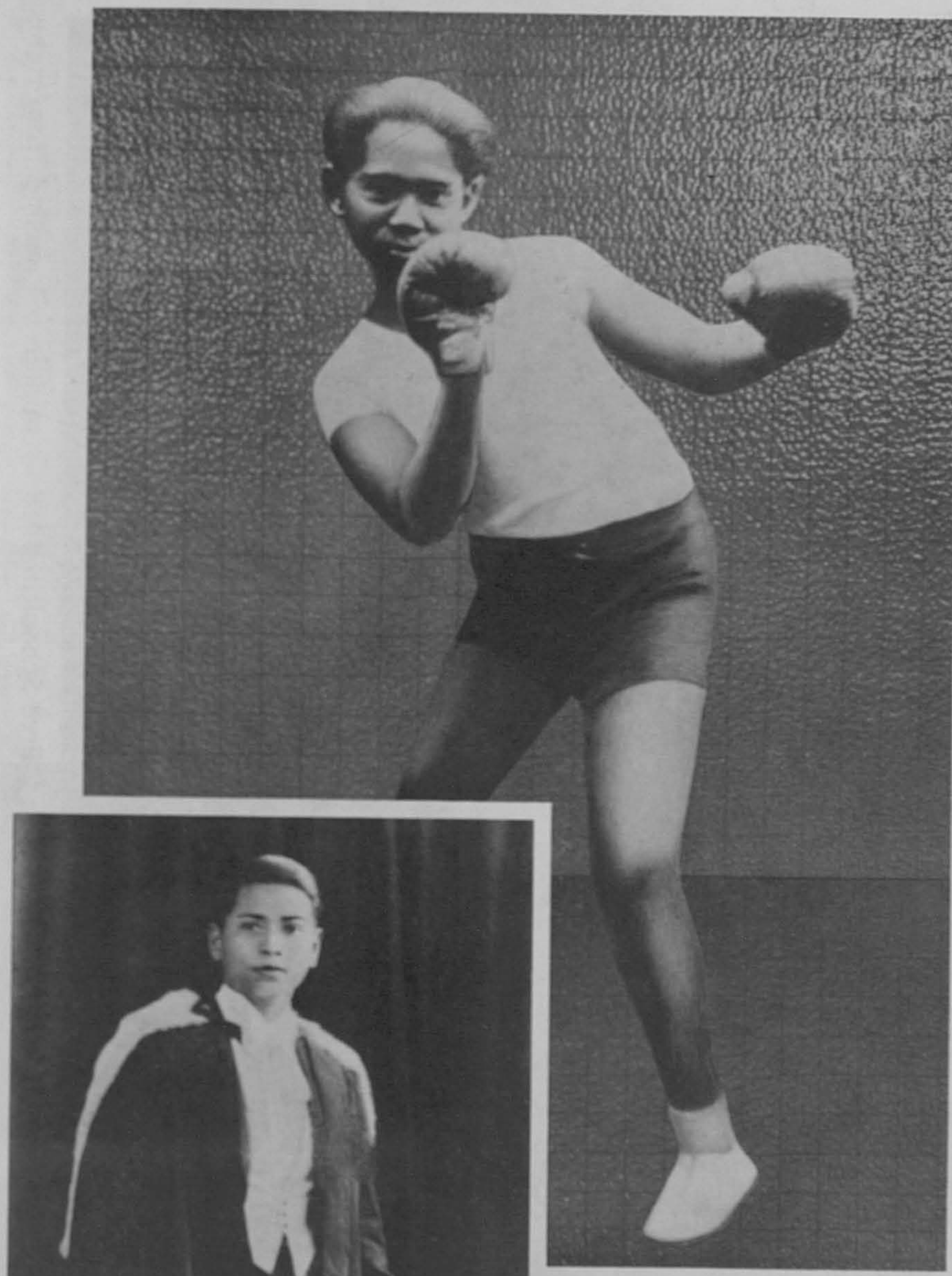
two million Chinese.

So forget about China, but remember Malaysia as the place that has given us all the good things in life. If all the Chinese can think in this way, I myself do not believe there is any cause to worry about the future of this nation.

I regret to see a statement by a Chinese MCA Youth leader who criticised Datuk Michael Chen for asking the Chinese "to serve not only the Chinese but all communities". According to him it is against the policy of the MCA, which must always be to fight for Chinese rights. His statement is not that of a Malaysian, and is out of place here, as well as being one which I deplore.

The Chinese and Indians have lived here for generations, and this is one of the wonderlands that does not provoke hatred for one another on account either of race or creed. We all enjoy one another's company and participate in one another's festivities. If this "give and take" attitude is adopted Malaysia will be good for us all. So let everybody play his part, and above all look to Malaysia and not to any other country as their land of hope and a home. To quote J.H. Payne:

Mid pleasures and palaces where'er we may roam,
Be it ever so humble, there's no place like Home.



Sparring in 1920 in Huntington, United Kingdom.



Tunku Abdul Rahman upon graduation from St. Catherines, Cambridge.



Tunku Abdul Rahman as a footballer at the Penang Free School in 1916 — middle row second from right.



The St. Catherine's Football Team — Tunku Abdul Rahman is in middle row, extreme right.



Entering the Hall at Oxford to receive his Honorary LLD in the summer of 1970.



With wife and grandchildren.



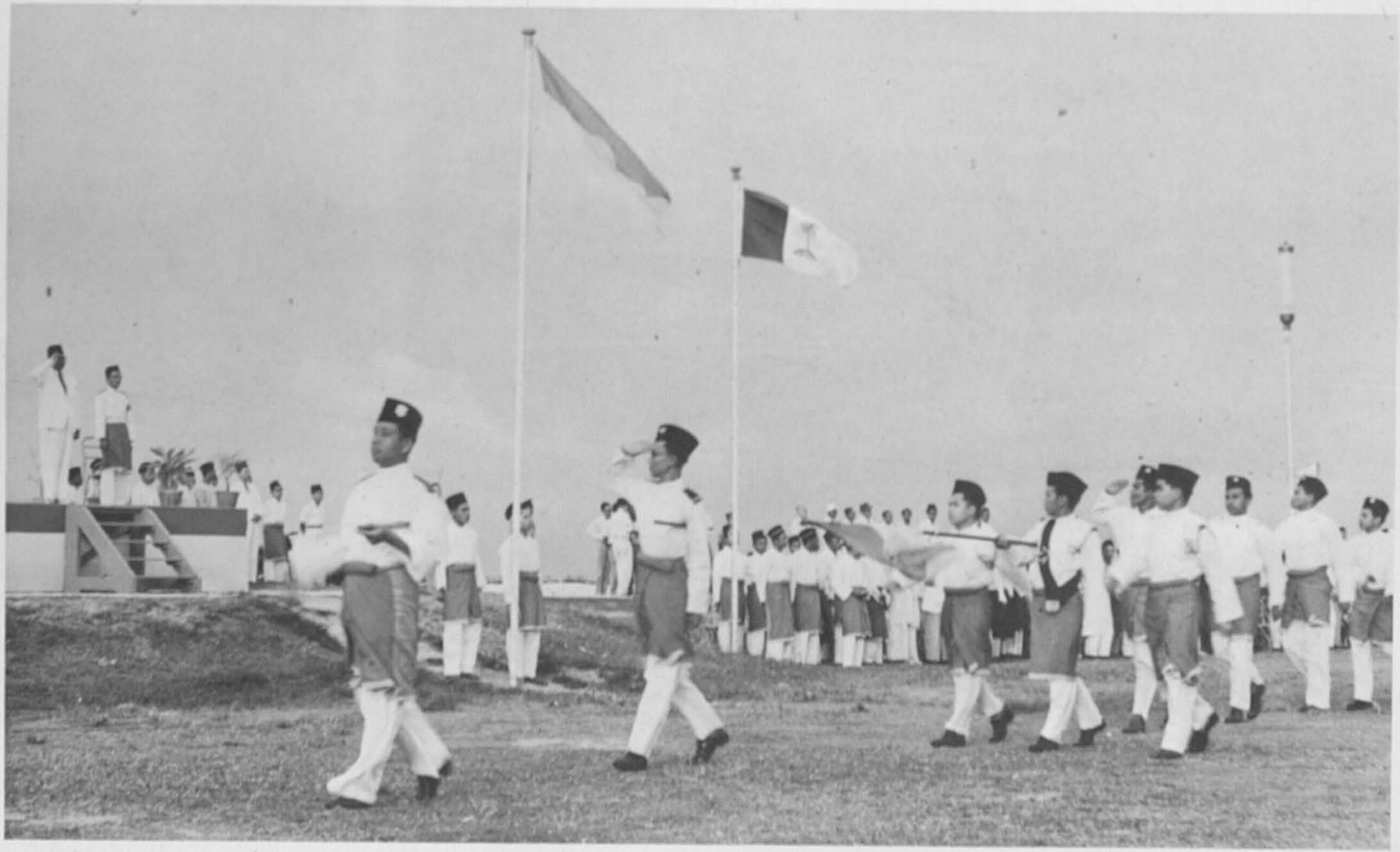
Tunku Abdul Rahman with his wife Tun Sharifah Rodziah and granddaughter, Lara.



Tunku Abdul Rahman with his son Tunku Nerang Putra, daughter-in-law, children, and grandchildren.



Chief Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman inspecting an UMNO Youth Guard of Honour in Penang.



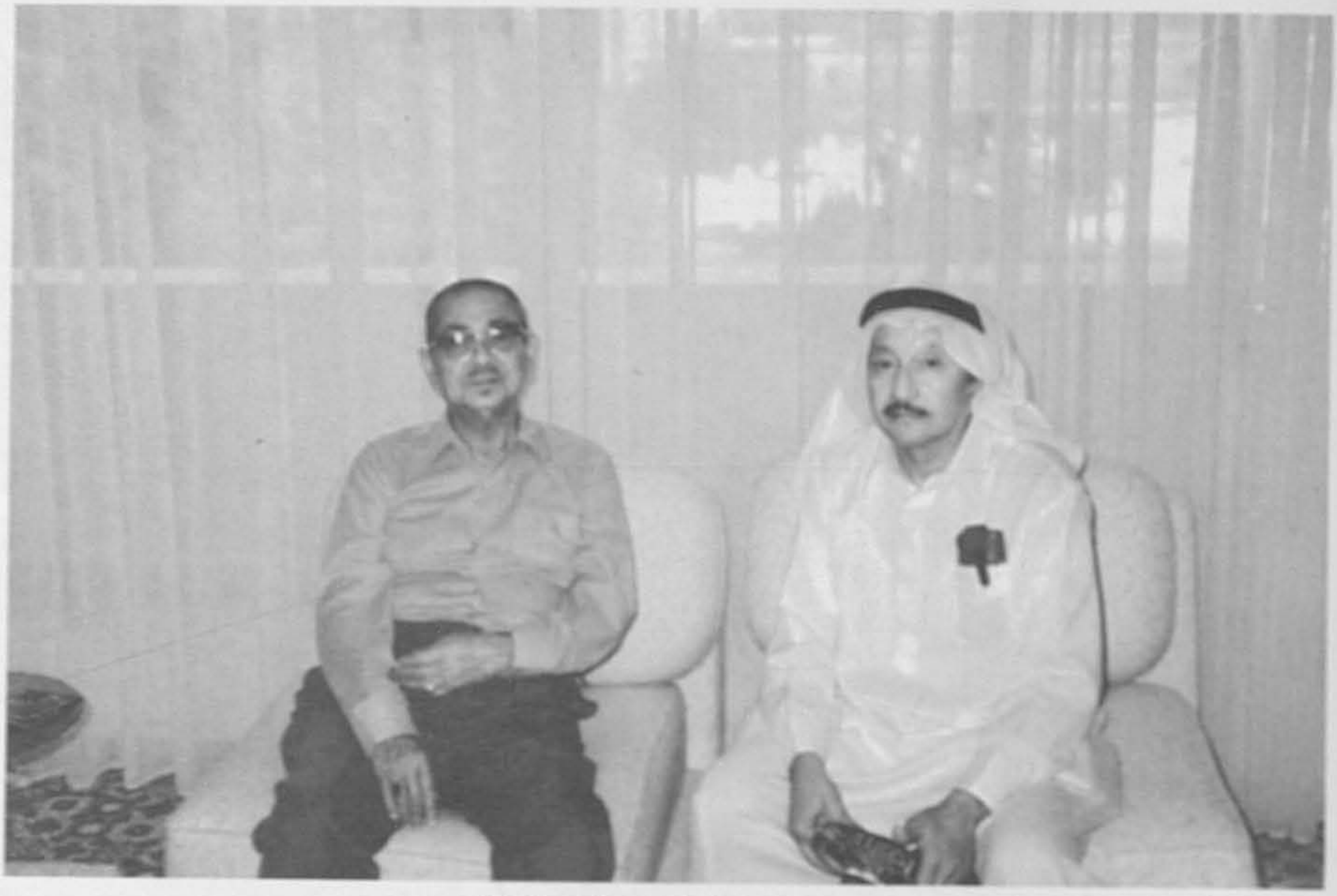
Tunku Abdul Rahman taking the salute at an UMNO Youth March Past in Penang.



Tunku Abdul Rahman addressing an UMNO meeting in 1954 — at right is the late Tun Dr Ismail who later became Deputy Prime Minister.



Tunku Abdul Rahman addressing an UMNO Convention in Penang. Front row, third from left is Datuk Haji Sardon Haji Jubir (now a Tun and Governor of Penang), Syed Nasir bin Ismail (now a Tan Sri and Speaker of the Lower House of Parliament) and Datuk Abdul Razak (later Tun and Prime Minister who succeeded Tunku).



With friend in Jeddah.



Relaxing at his beach house at Batu Ferringhi, Penang.



With Muhammad Ali, the former world heavyweight champion in Kuala Lumpur 1975.



Sir John Kerr, then Governor General of Australia presenting the Melbourne Cup to Tunku Abdul Rahman who is a joint-owner of "Think Big" which won the Melbourne Cup 1975.



Leading in "Think Big" after the Melbourne Cup Races 1975.



Tunku Abdul Rahman at his Kuala Lumpur stables with his late trainer, Abdul Mawi and Datuk Tan Chin Nam, a co-owner with Tunku of "Think Big", double winner of the Melbourne Cup 1974/75.

With President Sadat August 1978.

Tunku Abdul Rahman with former Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuki Kishi, third from right, during his 1978 trip to Japan.



Former President Nixon receiving Tunku Abdul Rahman at the White House with then Malaysian Ambassador, Tan Sri Omar Ong Yoke Lin.

Chapter Thirteen

The Yang Dipertuan Agung

On Wednesday, June 1, 1977, we celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the institution of the throne of Malaya and Malaysia. It is a unique institution never before practised or tried out in any country in the world.

How this came about perhaps needs clarification for the benefit of the new generation. Most people take this as a matter of course, little knowing how it came about and why it was that the Royal Birthday was introduced in this form and why the first Wednesday in June.

The explanation is that we were convinced that Kingship was a good thing and must continue for a nation like Malaysia. The Sultanates had served the people in the States particularly well in the colonial days, and had helped to maintain the religion, traditions, customs and way of life of the Malays. Malay adherence to all these had been well-preserved in all these years, and perhaps without their faith in their Sultans they might have lost their identity. This has happened in States without rulers.

When the time came to institute the high office of the Yang Dipertuan Agung, it was difficult to decide whether to appoint the incumbent for the rest of his life or for a term of years. It was then that I conceived the idea of calling the high office the Yang Dipertuan Agung, which literally means "The Supreme Ruler of All the Rulers", following what had been instituted in Negeri Sembilan where nine chiefs migrated from Minangkabau, Sumatra and founded nine states in Central Malaya, calling them Negeri Sembilan (the nine states).

They could not decide among themselves whom to appoint as their chief, for every one of them was equal in rank and no one could aspire to be the supreme leader over others, so at the Council of these chiefs they decided to return to Minangkabau, chose a Prince from the Ruling House there, brought him back to Malaya, and made him the Yang Dipertuan Besar of Negeri Sembilan, without giving him any power or authority over affairs

of state. They dumped him away in an outlandish area in Sri Menanti surrounded by hills and jungle.

The Council of Chiefs or the Undangs ruled Negeri Sembilan until the British came, then the Yang Dipertuan Besar was accepted by the British as the Ruler of the State and the Undangs as the Chiefs.

In our case we did not put the Yang Dipertuan Agung away anywhere but on the Throne itself as a symbol of authority with all the sovereign rights and prerogatives over all things as the Head of State of Malaya, and later Malaysia.

He was vested with all the powers such as those given to sovereigns of Great Britain and other democratic monarchies of the world. Everything pertaining to the Government is done in his name and on his authority.

The occupant of the Throne as the first Agung, the Yang Dipertuan Besar of Negeri Sembilan, HRH Tuanku Abdul Rahman, brought great dignity and splendour to the Throne, and that won respect, admiration and love for the Throne from right-thinking Malaysians of all racial origins.

As symbolic Head of State, the Agung never interferes with the actual running of the Government, but during my time as Prime Minister I had to brief him on the business of the Government every Wednesday morning just before the start of the weekly Cabinet meeting. If the Agung had any suggestion to make or any views to add, I would give great weight to them and invariably the Cabinet accepted them.

I had the pleasure and the honour of serving as Prime Minister under five Agungs: (1) HRH Tuanku Abdul Rahman of Negeri Sembilan, (2) HRH Tuanku Hishamuddin Alam Shah of Selangor, (3) HRH Tuanku Syed Putra of Perlis, (4) HRH Tuanku Ismail of Trengganu and (5) HRH Tuanku Halim Shah of Kedah, for one day.

Never once did I have any occasion to regret my role as the man who suggested the institution of Kingship in Malaysia, as I was convinced that this institution would have great influence on the well-being, peace, and glory of this nation.

People have asked me from time to time as to why the Sultan of Pahang, who was one of the senior Rulers of the country, had not been appointed Agung. Perhaps I might answer it in these terms. It was a question of either taking the Throne or winning the love of a woman, and I hope his descendants, parti-

cularly the present incumbent, will forgive me for saying so.

When the late Sultan of Pahang expressed a wish to marry his fifth wife, Tun Abdul Razak and I went to see him in Istana Pahang in Kuala Lumpur and pleaded with him not to go through with it, because that would turn the people against him. He would, in our mind, make a very good Yang Dipertuan Agung as he was close to the people and very friendly and sporting.

After some time with him he agreed to accept our advice. However, a few days afterwards, to my astonishment, we read a report in the newspapers that the Sultan had gone through with his marriage and was having his honeymoon in Hong Kong.

History has often revealed how other royal heads have been toppled for the love of a woman, the outstanding one being King Edward VIII of Great Britain, who for the love of Mrs. Wallis Simpson, gave up the throne.

It was he who said: "If it was hard to give up my throne, it was harder to give up my people. But of one thing I was sure that love had triumphed over the exigencies of politics".

Human nature after all is human, as Omar Khayyam said —

Oh, no-one can ever find a way through the heavy
curtain of human faith,
No-one can ever understand the secret of dignity.

In other words what God has ordained — what must be must be. The Throne is the symbol of divinity on earth, and whoever occupies it is the chosen one of God.

As an illustration, too, I repeat a story which I have told before. His late Majesty Sultan Hishamuddin Alam Shah was proclaimed Yang Dipertuan Agung on April 14, 1960. Before he was officially installed, however, he donned his regalia which was to have been presented to him at the time of the Installation, as a result of which he became very ill and finally died at the stroke of 11 am on Wednesday, September 1, 1960, the very day and hour when he was due to be installed as Yang Dipertuan Agung.

Superstitious Malays attributed his death to the misuse of the sanctity of the regalia of office of the King, which must begin only after his official installation — the most important regalia were the Kris and the Holy Quran which would bestow on him the divinity of right as King.

I have described at length in "Looking Back" that the Throne must be preserved with honour and dignity. The Malaysian monarch is not only the Defender of the Muslim religion but the Defender of the rights and freedom of all his subjects who look to this country as their home and object of their loyalty.

The present Yang Dipertuan Agung, HRH Tuanku Yahaya Putra, came to the Malaysian Throne on September 21, 1975, and to the Throne of Kelantan in 1960 at the age of 43. By curious coincidence he looks a healthy man and appears fit and well, and his reign has brought economic revival and prosperity to the nation.

When I say by curious coincidence I mean that some years back he had a stroke which incapacitated him for a long period, and nobody expected him to recover so well. Looking at him today, no one would think that he had suffered a severe stroke. He was born on December 10, 1917, and is married to Tengku Zainab binti Tengku Muhamed Petra.

When his nomination was first declared he was unwilling to take up the office as he did not think he was well enough to undertake such a responsibility. Then he changed his mind and accepted, and I think he has made a wise decision, for he fulfils every inch the part of Yang DiPertuan Agung.

The official birthday of the Agung was decided by the Cabinet, the first Wednesday in the month of June. When I left as Prime Minister and Tun Razak took over, the occasion was celebrated with a procession of the Armed Forces, Chingay, and so on.

One thing I have had occasion to remark on more than once was the absence of colour and splendour befitting the birthday of a monarch, which, in other monarchies, requires the wearing of official uniforms, medals, orders and decorations. In my day the birthday of the Agung was celebrated with solemn pageantry. Now I am more than happy to know that they have reverted to the former glory, and everybody has been asked to wear orders and decorations; this is as it should be.

Perhaps it would not be out of place for me to mention, in connection with the subject of the institution of the monarchy, how the people of this country should react, particularly the Malays. They must understand what it means and how they are expected to conform to the rules of etiquette and code of conduct, for without them the dignity of the Throne is lost.

When I talk in these terms people might consider me old-

fashioned or "square", a word for those who cannot adapt to changes that are taking place today. Some consider me perhaps as a scion of a blue-blooded family who cannot forget his origin. Whatever they may think, I feel I am entitled to say my piece because I was one of the architects of Malaya's Independence and also of the institution of Kingship.

The value of a jewel is judged by its fine quality. A diamond may be a diamond, but a good diamond is worth a lot of money. An emerald is an expensive stone, but a flawless emerald is a very expensive jewel indeed, and so it is with men. A nice, cultured, well-behaved man is highly respected by the community and gains better recognition for himself. Money alone does not make him a man of good quality.

Politeness is held high in Malay custom and tradition, and this is shown by the way in which a Malay addresses his fellowmen, his elders and people of rank. There are words in Malay for use with people of different ages and ranks.

I regret so much to see the complete absence among Malays of today not only of the language but the idea of how to address or behave towards the elders or people of high rank. This is noticeable in the Federal Territory, the seat of Government and the seat of the Throne. Perhaps this is due to the books used in the schools, which give no thought to the customs, tradition and etiquette of the Malays.

The old Malay was so strong in his attachment to all these that these words were coined: "Biar mati anak dari mati adat". ("Let a son die, rather than custom"). The reason for this perhaps is better known to them and less known to us. But I won't go 100 per cent for it, for "anak" is something so dear to one but so is "adat", and I would put it in this way: "Jaga adat seperti jaga anak" ("Look after the adat as you would your beloved child"). The Education Ministry must look into the type of books that should be used for education in Bahasa Malaysia.

When one travels widely today, I find the adat is kept up only in the former Non-Federated Malay States — Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu and Johore — and is less strong in the former Federated Malay States, and weak in the former Colonies, Penang and Malacca.

While we have our monarchy we must uphold all the rules of etiquette that go with it Once these are overlooked the monarchy loses its value.

Chapter Fourteen

Actors on the Political Stage

Politics is a game of life, no less providential and God-sent than other fine professional careers. Very much depends on how one plays politics, and where one plays it. Different situations in different countries with peoples of different temperament require different tactics.

Malaysia is one country that decided to adopt democracy based on the British Parliamentary system, though not entirely, because the situation here differs from that in Europe and demands slight variations in our approach. However, the underlying principles are the same. We must be dedicated and loyal to the principles to which we subscribe.

In Britain political parties have existed for more than two hundred years. There are three well-established parties, the Conservative, the Socialist (Labour) and the Liberal. These parties have maintained particular policies because of time-honoured principles. Generally speaking, the Conservatives stand for free enterprise, and the Socialists for restricted enterprise and unbridled freedom for trade unions, but the Liberals at present seem to be in a state of flux as they have not formed a government since the time of Lloyd-George. Winning elections depends very much on the leaders of the parties, on their personalities and their qualities of leadership.

In this country, from 1957, the time of Independence, to 1974, only one political party held sway, the Alliance, but in Tun Razak's time in 1974 a change was made, with the Alliance giving way to the Barisan Nasional (National Front). The Alliance embraced only three parties, UMNO, the MCA and the MIC, but the Barisan Nasional has ten.*

One might assume that UMNO as a party made a drastic

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* UMNO, MCA, MIC, Sarawak United People's Party, Parti Pesaka Bumiputra Bersatu, Sarawak National Party, United Sabah National Organisation, Berjaya, Peoples Progressive Party, Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia.

change, sweeping away its policies for political expediency, or that UMNO sought and found an easy way out of political squabbles. However, this change does not make things as simple as one would like, for in the long run individual political parties must want to put across their own ideologies to please their own followers. Some time, sooner or later, this must come about, and then a clash will occur.

Admittedly in a coalition of several parties there must be plenty of give and take, particularly when formulating national policy. We pray for the good of the nation that an internal clash will never take place. But one development, however, is bound to occur, namely that some people may get the idea UMNO has departed from its established policy of being a right-wing and broad-minded political party as it is willing to accommodate other parties, whether these are to the Right or to the Left, religious or communal.

It follows that members of these parties naturally desire to take advantage of the situation by trying out their own ideologies, and so young people, with either Communist, Republican, or Left-wing ideas find that a coalition is opportune to display their idealism.

UMNO members are sensitive enough to realise that such people are up to no good. At the last general meeting of UMNO charges of disloyalty were made against some members. The appointment of Tan Sri Syed Ja'afar Albar as the leader of UMNO Youth was a clear indication that the Youth Division, the spearhead of party attack, had decided they should be removed from the party.

In my time as Prime Minister it was also evident that such people had made inroads into UMNO, and that they had influenced the thinking of some of the young leaders. I refused to give them places in the party leadership, so they opposed me bitterly and worked hard to throw me out.

Tun Razak's idea of appeasing and accommodating all political parties was a brave act, braver still when he took these new people into his confidence. When Tun Razak passed away, these people were naturally determined to pursue their politicking, but Datuk Hussein Onn had to put a stop to it. As a result two Deputy Ministers Datuk Abdullah Ahmad and Abdullah Majid and several other people were detained under the Internal Security Act.

In the days before Independence most of us who went in for politics regarded politics as being sacred. We had no other interest in life except to do what we could to get Independence for our country. At that time it did not strike any of us, least of all me, to try to become wealthy through politics. All our prayers and all our efforts were concentrated on achieving freedom for Malaya. We were even prepared to die for our Independence.

When I went to London in 1954 I met Mr. Justice van Lare of the Gold Coast, and remember well the words he spoke to me, "Tunku, the way to self-government is not through the Colonial Office: it is usually through the prison gate".

My answer was that that prospect was a small thing of little concern to me, as my main goal was to get Independence at any cost. As to thinking of becoming a great man, that was also of little interest to me. If only I could win Independence, I would die happy. But time passes by, and all that was a long, long time ago; since then things have changed.

I am still alive and able to watch other actors on the political stage and see how things are developing. Naturally I get very worried if they happen to go wrong. In saying so, I am not braying like an ass while kicking at a dead lion. What I state here I assert in all honesty and sincerity, with a mind to help others who are now in power, or else to help those who may come after.

Nowadays there are many people who, no sooner than they get into positions of trust, start at once to think of amassing wealth, forgetting completely their oath of allegiance and their duties to their party and the country. Sooner or later they will find themselves in trouble. And in respect of some young political leaders we receive anonymous letters giving details, rightly or wrongly, true or fictitious, about their misdeeds and the wealth they amass.

When one first receives such a letter one is inclined to ignore all these allegations as being unfounded, illogical or written in malice, but when further letters begin to arrive giving facts and figures, however indifferent one may try to be, one cannot help believing that they must contain some truth.

It is a pity that some young men who have every prospect in life and a bright future in store should have to face an enquiry so early in their political careers. In our political history there have not been such incidents before to compare with these.

All these developments have taken place in recent years, so something is wrong somewhere. Perhaps it is timely for the party itself to make an assessment of where it stands, and to see what has gone wrong.

This much I can say, that just after the violence of May 13, 1969, certain new faces appeared on the political scene, both in leading Ministries and in the Party. All were given important work as Press Secretaries, Political Secretaries or other responsible jobs, either within the Party or in Government.

To the best of my knowledge, these people had little to do with UMNO. How then did they come into favour all of a sudden? I had had nothing to do with them. However, I understood they were to prepare the ground for a takeover by my successor. To me that was fair enough, just as it was also fair for a new Prime Minister to have a good base from which to launch his new Government. If these new people could be of any help to him, let him use them.

As I was on my way out, it was not for me to interfere with any plan my successor might have in mind but to allow him full freedom to do what he thought was good for the new Government which he would be taking over. I had had thirteen year's experience, and it was obvious that changes might be found to be necessary.

Unfortunately, however, some of these people who came to surround the new Prime Minister at that time had their own personal ambitions to think about. Some wanted to get rich while others found the chance propitious to put across their political views.

Such a prevailing situation could not continue unnoticed, particularly by members of the party. It must have been most awkward for Datuk Hussein Onn to deal with the situation because of his own sense of loyalty to his colleagues. At the same time he is conscious of his duty to the country and to the people he represents, and like it or not, he has to act.

It was a very delicate situation he faced. Our people must support him, and one view I can express now is that the actions taken against these Deputy Ministers and others have won acclaim and admiration from everyone I know. So far no one has anything but praise for the Prime Minister. And the firmness with which he went about, and the care he took to make sure that there was evidence available, in ordering two Deputy Minis-

ters of his government be detained, must be admired. It was a painful decision but necessary.

It must be a relief to most people, particularly to party members, to know that the circle that formed itself around the Government has now been broken up, and that the Prime Minister whatever he does today can be said to be free, either in acting on his own or on the advice of his colleagues. If anything goes wrong he alone shoulders the blame, but not, as proven in the past, should he be blamed for the faults of others.

But even the detention of these men did not mean the end of problems for Datuk Hussein. The power-seekers still remain close to him, as indeed they would be in any situation they can take advantage of. These men formed a vicious circle around the late Tun Razak, and exercised their power in many cases by using his good name. They controlled the mass media as the first step, taking over most of the newspapers. Before they could do much more harm, I had to expose them. That was how UMNO members first opened their eyes to realise the threat this clique posed, and started to take stock of their behaviour, their sinister intentions and their activities.

As they considered this threat as being highly detrimental to the interests of the party, they pushed forward the old warrior, Tan Sri Syed Ja'afar Albar, to be the spearhead of the attack against this lot, and I gave the necessary blessing. However, I am happy that the stranglehold which they had over this Government has been broken, and, given time, UMNO will reform under the leadership of the Prime Minister, Datuk Hussein Onn.

But some of the things these men did before they were exposed included demands to the media that I was to be given little or no publicity. I have had so much publicity in the last twenty years since I took over the leadership of UMNO, and the only bother this "silence" ever caused me was that this black-out of any mention of me in the Press might be taken by others as a punishment for some serious offence I might have committed when I was Prime Minister.

A book was introduced into schools which made no mention of my part in building this nation of ours. This was tantamount to libel and defamation of character, but when I knew what was behind it I kept silent. They might have overplayed their hand; all I had to do was to keep quiet.

Chapter Fifteen

Obstacles to Progress

With the death of Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein I lost a good friend and the country a great leader. His popularity as my successor as Prime Minister was attested several times over by the vast crowds that thronged Kuala Lumpur for the funeral. I have never seen such crowds before, even for the funeral of our first Yang Dipertuan Agung.

When I first saw a press photo of Tun Razak in December 1975, before he left on his so-called holiday in London, I was shocked to see how haggard and thin he looked. It was definitely not a photograph of a man in robust health, but rather one of a very sickly man. When he was whisked away with such rapidity, without a word to say why, or without any reason being given for his sudden departure, it was obvious too that he was not going on a pleasure trip.

We had all heard that Tun Razak was due to go on leave in February, but this sudden change of plan caused great concern and much speculation. When one sums it all up, there could only be one conclusion, that he needed immediate medical attention from the best specialists in Europe. It turned out to be so tragically correct.

A Prime Minister must be at the beck and call of the nation, and if he cannot, then the reasons must be given. In this case the people should have been informed what was wrong with him and how long he was likely to be away.

When I met Tun Razak shortly before he left on his last journey to London in December 1975, I told him that he should not burn the candle at both ends. This expression of course, usually refers to extravagant displays of wealth, but in his case it was an aggravated overuse of physical and mental energy.

Tun Razak was a very serious-minded man, one who was always enthusiastic and dedicated to his job, or in vulgar parlance "a glutton for work". But Nature makes any man just that strong and no more, and if he should overstep his physical limits,

he can injure himself seriously. And this is what happened to him.

When I was Prime Minister all I did was formulate plans and my Ministers would carry them out. Tun Razak in particular could always be depended upon to execute most assiduously all the work assigned and entrusted to him.

Take, for instance, the First Five-Year Development Plan, drawn up to help the landless and to encourage the planting of rubber and cash crops. Tun Razak executed this plan with a high degree of efficiency. By any standards this first major venture of our new nation was a winner from the word "Go".

He never shirked the weight of his great responsibility, shouldering his duties well. Rapidly Malaya achieved so much progress, prosperity and peace, that money poured into the country and industries sprouted like mushrooms.

But when Tun Razak became the "boss" he was left to plan and carry out everything himself, so they told me. Such a burden must have subjected him to terrific strains and wrought havoc with his health. When Tun Razak was my Deputy he used to take pride in his own good health, and would gibe at me good-naturedly on my creeping old age. His only complaint was that he was getting rather too fat, so he decided to cut down his daily diet. I had occasion to tell him that if he was to die, he might as well do so on a full stomach, for that at least was my attitude to life. The Ministers are paid their salaries to do their work, so why must we spare them and undertake their work for them?

For myself, the less work I did the better it was for me. So I took a lot of time off for my own pleasure, such as playing golf, race-going or other extra-mural activities. But Razak loved to work, always attending to everything himself, and now the poor fellow is no more. And he left at a critical time for there was much to be done in the next few years to adapt Malaysia to the changed conditions as a result of the Government's new policies.

All change is inevitable. A nation cannot stand still; it must change and grow with the march of progress and, according to our young men, it must change quickly.

All the Communist countries are here on terms of good diplomatic relations with us, yet at the same time we are facing trouble from Communists in our own country. Perhaps the reason is that they are trying to assert their presence to impress

their counter-parts or those top-ranking comrades who sup and drink with the highest in the land. After a long lay-off, the Communists have started their activities again, killing security chiefs at will, setting booby traps here and there, and ambushing our security forces where and when they choose.

It is hard to speak against these Communists without hurting the feelings of the representatives of Communist nations, who are our special guests. Yet it is said that if we are to safeguard our own security interests, a change in our policy vis-a-vis the Communists is necessary. How much our friendly relations with the Communist countries will help us is left to be seen.

The United States of America, and other leading nations which were once anti-Communists, are opting for a policy of detente with the Communist powers. So they say, why not us? The only difference is that these powers never had to face a twelve-year war with the Communists, whereas we had to endure one and win out. And we did.

All the big nations can well afford to change their policies to suit themselves. However, they are far from the danger areas, but we are a small and weak nation, living in the heart of a very, very "red zone", and so we cannot take the same risks. These are among the problems which we in Malaysia must face.

I myself would very much like to hear a word or two from these Communist friends with whom we are on the best of terms about their views on these acts of terrorism, but these opinions are not forthcoming so far. Perhaps the New Year will bring some such greeting from them, words of peace and good cheer for the coming year.

A great deal has been said about a trade recession in our country. Some attribute this to the policy of economic emphasis on bumiputras. While I warmly welcome help for the bumiputras, I deplore any act that is likely to divide true Malaysians into two halves; division will benefit no-one. I have always said that this policy of "divide-and-rule" was a colonial practice, and with the era of colonialism behind us we should have seen an end of it. Yet "divide-and-rule" seems to linger on.

As in any multi-racial independent country, the duty of this Government of ours must be to narrow the gaps of any differences and not to widen them. But at no time must it be said that the Government has embarked on a policy of "robbing Peter to pay Paul". I have knowledge that millions of shares have been ear-

marked for bumiputras, yet no-one has come forward to take them up. But we have to make a start somewhere and my advice to Chinese and Indian businessmen in this country is they must contribute their help to the Government and not seek new pastures by moving their businesses away from Malaysia. They should not desert a "sinking ship" like rats, but play their parts like true Malaysians.

Again, if Malaysians cannot acquire knowledge in this country of ours, then what is education? I am one who strongly believes in making Malay our national language, because a plural nation, one which has blossomed forth into an independent and prosperous one, must have a national language. I believe too that everyone born in this country must know how to use our language, otherwise independence is meaningless.

Our national language therefore should be taught in all schools up to the highest levels, but the language required to reach the highest peaks of academic perfection must still be English, an objective which must be pursued with honest ambition. Unlike the Japanese or the Thais, who have always had their own languages, we in Malaysia have been taught English for generations.

Both the Japanese and the Thais have been able to translate into their own languages the knowledge they have acquired in other tongues. It will be a long time, however, before we can hope to reach that level. In the meantime it is not right to deny our people the knowledge they seek. Our Holy Prophet Mohammad S.A.W.* declared, "Seek knowledge, even unto China".

We have had an exodus of professors and lecturers from our universities here because, according to them, they cannot impart the knowledge they have quite as effectively in Malay.

I remember a Mr. Brown, British Adviser in Trengganu, who considered himself a Malay scholar. He went so far as to translate the Laws of Evidence and Procedure into Malay. All the non-Federated Malay States, which used Malay as the language of the Courts were asked to adopt the new books. They were never put into use, as no-one understood these "new" laws, which were "Greek" to them.

We have had a "brain drain" everywhere, especially among experts in medicine, science and other technical professions.

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* Sallallah Alaihi Wasallam (Peace Be Upon Him)

Such qualified men are in short supply everywhere in the world, so can we in Malaysia afford to lose them and their valuable services? This "brain-drain" is one of the serious issues which confront us today. Some of these problems will have to be shouldered by the Prime Minister, and he will need all the cells in his brain and all the help he can get from his colleagues and officials to put things right again before our situation becomes like Humpty Dumpty's.

There are people, of course, who will say that we must instil one common loyalty to this country at all cost. For good or for worse, we must embark on our common objectives conscientiously and assiduously, but surely we are still a long way from our goals to take this risk. But all these bold plans can be done only if there is an efficient, honest and understanding leadership. Tun Razak had these qualities, and I think so does his successor, Datuk Hussein Onn. When I was asked recently by a BBC correspondent, "What sort of man does Malaysia require as Prime Minister?", I replied, in brief that the man Malaysia requires must be a man of integrity, courage and understanding. I should have added "foresight" as well; a man who knows the nature of the country and the people he is to lead.

A nation like Malaysia with its multi-racial society, its multiplicity of religions and customs, needs a man who can give the people security and a feeling of confidence. I went on to say that after generations of foreign rule the people were divided, and it would take a long time to unite them. Both the well-being of our people and the good future of our country itself demand that the economy must be kept strong. The Prime Minister of Malaysia must be able to give the kind of leadership that can add strength to all the assets of our free nation.

When I was asked what was the main problem facing this country, I replied that Malaysia had always had a mixed population, but dangers in this country had always come from those anti-national elements who were ever-ready to exploit any situation and to create and exploit any problem, but when Malaysia's economy was strong they have must less chance to do so. On the other hand, if the economy collapses then they will exploit the situation. These anti-national elements have done so before, and they will do it again, or at least they will try to do so.

They are here in large numbers, and are quick to grab any

opportunity to cause an upheaval in our country. They did so in May 1969; when they found they could not win the elections by democratic means, they decided to destroy us. But they failed, thanks be to God!

Malaysia now is faced with no overt obstacle to its well-being. We see no visible signs of animosity or feelings of unfriendliness between one race and another. All the people seem to go about their daily lives happy and unconcerned. It is only when our anti-national elements start their machinations that trouble breaks out. So the people must be prepared to stand behind the Prime Minister, Datuk Hussein Onn.

In fact he is a scion of an old family, the members of which have proved themselves capable leaders. One of the most famous Menteris Besar of Johore was Datuk Ja'afar, under whose administration that State was opened up with rubber and spices, to become one of the richest in the Peninsula.

After him came his equally famous son, Datuk Onn, who started the movement that brought all the Malays together, North to South, East to West, under the banner of UMNO, and finally won the membership system in the Government which brought Malaya close to Home Rule and ultimate Independence. But he never became Prime Minister, because Malaya did not achieve her Independence under his leadership.

By the will of Allah, his son, Datuk Hussein, carries on the tradition of the family, and has fittingly become the third Prime Minister of our nation. As I have said, he has all the qualities and attributes of a leader, a modest man who can also be very down-to-earth. Moreover, he has the education, the wisdom and the training to give the right lead and provide this country with good government.

Tun Abdul Razak played his part for Malaya and Malaysia, and he did it well, so a grateful nation would never forget him. Those of us who remain cannot just sit down to speculate on the future, or imbibe wild stories about who is going to be the next leader after Datuk Hussein Onn.

To this question my reply is that this country does not depend on a single individual for leadership. Under our system of government, a democracy, all the members of the Cabinet collectively share the responsibility. And there is no need for the people of Malaysia to concern themselves unduly over who will follow after Datuk Hussein Onn. The people are empowered to exercise

their right to see that no person can establish himself as an absolute dictator to do as and what he likes. He must abide by the Constitution and respect law and order and the wishes of the people.

When I first became Prime Minister in 1957 we had to test our Constitution and our democracy, and when Tun Razak took over it was already working well. Now our democracy is still in good working order, so whoever comes next to fill our top post as Prime Minister will be well protected under the aegis of both our Constitution and our democracy.

When Datuk Hussein succeeded Tun Abdul Razak in January 1976, there were many who worried about who the Deputy Prime Minister would be. But why should it be the concern of anyone at all, I cannot understand, but as far as I know — and I should know — it is entirely up to the Prime Minister to appoint whom he likes as his Deputy. On the other hand, if he chooses not to name one, he has the right to withhold such an appointment. The Constitution of this country says nothing about a Deputy Prime Minister. I appointed Tun Razak for very special reasons. Malaya was newly-independent, and there was a lot of work to be done to build Malayan consciousness among the divided communities. When we were on the threshold of Independence the Malayan people of all races were suspicious of one another, because they lived in an age when they were under the paternal wing of the British, and that was how life had been for well nigh a century or more. When the British left they did not know where they were, for the British had not taught them how to stand on their own feet; so they had to stand erect themselves and work out their own destiny.

With Independence I had to assume the role of a leader and build up among Malayans a sense of mutual confidence and trust in one another, encourage them to look up to this country as the sole object of their loyalty, and impress on them, whether they liked it or not, that as they all had to live, work and die here, they should make the best of what Malaya had to offer. It therefore was necessary for me to appoint a Deputy to help me in the administration of the country. Very few seem to realise that I actually retired temporarily in 1959, and Tun Razak became Prime Minister. I wanted to devote all my time to the work of nation-building especially by winning the general elections that year. I also wanted to show Malayans that they need have

no worry about what might happen after me. At that time problems of succession were bothering people in other newly-born nations of Asia. I made it clear that Malaya had no such problem.

Now that we have had our Independence for a long time — nineteen years — most of the issues we faced then in our early years of national freedom have been resolved. The problem we confront today is to deal with the unruly anti-national elements to ensure peace and security in the country for everyone; and that is the main problem to be faced, both by the Government and the people, acting together.

Rumour-mongering is no good and helps no-one. As to who should be the Deputy Prime Minister, I say again that it is no concern of the people. It is entirely the prerogative of the Prime Minister, and his alone.

If Datuk Hussein so likes, he can appoint, instead, a senior Minister of the Cabinet to act for him whenever he goes abroad or should be on leave. Or he can nominate two senior Ministers, rather than one Deputy Prime Minister. Perhaps this procedure may allay the fears and concern of certain people, and for the time being perhaps this might be the right course to take.

But he appointed Datuk Seri Mahathir Mohamed as the Deputy Prime Minister in March 1976 and this appeared to have caused some tension in the atmosphere. On the whole what appears to be causing uneasiness is not so much the present set-up of the Government, but rather the manner in which the appointment of the Deputy Prime Minister was made. Let me refer to those who have reacted this way as Group One.

Leaving aside that section of the people who "couldn't care less", we come to Group Two, and these are the people who want to see trouble breaking out, and chaos and unrest setting in to become the order of the day so that they can indulge in their nefarious politics.

I would advise the first group of people showing concern in the way I have always done — keep calm and composed and give the Government a chance to prove its worth, and in turn do everything you can in your power to help the Government do so. I have often said that the Constitution of Malaysia provides the Prime Minister with the power to appoint whomsoever he likes from those in his party to form the Government, provided he does so with the full backing of his party, the Barisan Nasional,

and the House.

The extremists, Group Two, want to see trouble erupting in this country; and they have quite a good following. According to security reports, we now have two Communist camps to cope with instead of one. It is also reported that at the moment these two camps have no real understanding or love for one another, and as a result clashes have taken place between them. Our only hope is that these two factions will go on fighting one another and leave us alone. In the circumstances they have little time to embarrass us. A recurrence of the State of Emergency that plagued this country for twelve long years before Independence must be avoided at all costs.

Many of the young people alive today, who would like to participate in the administration of this country, were not even born then, or if they had been they were too young to assimilate what was going on around them. In those days the Government had to spend millions of dollars a day to fight the Communists, with an average of thirteen men in our Security Forces to one of theirs, and we had to continue to battle on even after Independence, until finally after three years of sovereignty and hard struggles we won the "war", and Malaya was delivered from the Communist terrorists.

Today the people seem to be weighed down, showing concern and worry, and there seems to be distrust between the communities. This is bad, and good citizens must contribute their part to promote goodwill and understanding, otherwise the enemy will exploit the situation to our cost. Whenever I am asked how can we bring back that spirit that won for us Independence, that won for us victory over the Communists, that won for us happiness and prosperity at home, my mind goes back to those days, and I remember what we had to do.

We had to win all the people over to our side, and to do so at a time when they were wary, even suspicious, of one another. The Malays felt that the Chinese would victimise them, while the Chinese felt that the Malays would abuse the powers they were given. The British held up our Independence on the grounds that they could never give power to any one race. According to them, if they gave the responsibility to the Malays, the Chinese and Indians would resent it, and if they gave authority to the Chinese and Indians, the Malays would oppose that decision.

Therefore, we had to find a way of our own to win Indepen-

dence for we all knew that, while the British held power, the Malays would be doomed to an ignominous existence. We had to win all the people over to the cause of Independence so that we could all find a rightful place in our own country.

It was in 1952 on January 7 that I gave my blessing to an "Alliance" of UMNO and MCA in the Kuala Lumpur area. With the help of Col. (now Tun) H.S. Lee, Mr. (now Tan Sri) Ong Yoke Lin, Mr. (now Tan Sri) S.M. Yong, Datuk Yahaya, Encik Ramli and Encik Ali Taib, we made a good beginning. It was suggested that a conference between UMNO and MCA should be held at the highest level.

I said at the time: "The idea of holding a Round-Table Conference resulted from the visit of Dr. Victor Purcell to Malaya. It came about in an unexpected manner. Sir Cheng-lock Tan asked me to meet Dr. Purcell, who had some proposals to make to me on behalf of the MCA.

"The UMNO General Assembly, which was then in session at Butterworth, objected strongly to Dr. Purcell, whom the Malays always considered as being anti-Malay. Much as I disagreed with the UMNO Assembly, I had to give in to prevent the proposed liaison between UMNO and the MCA from breaking down.

"I sent a telegram to Sir Cheng-lock Tan, suggesting that members of UMNO and the MCA should meet in a Round-Table without the services of Dr. Purcell or of any middle-man for that matter."

The MCA agreed with this proposal, and so the first Round-Table Conference between members of UMNO and the MCA took place on February 3, 1953. Those present were Sir Cheng-lock Tan, Col. H.S. Lee, Leong Yew Koh, S.M. Yong, Ong Yoke Lin, Sardon Jubir, Bahaman Shamsuddin, Dr. Ismail Abdul Rahman, Syed Nasir, T.H. Tan and myself. The meeting turned out to be a complete success. The result of the discussions then became the basis of Sino-Malay friendship and collaboration, and just under a year later in 1954 we welcomed the MIC, which also joined our Alliance.

Today we want to recapture that spirit in order to ensure the future well-being of this country. Of course the MCA does not have the following it had before. Nevertheless the MCA still represents that important section of the Chinese community who are in Group One, and understanding and friendship with the MCA must be maintained at all costs, no matter whether

the party is weak or strong. In fact during election campaigns I had occasion to say that even if there were only three MCA members remaining in their party, then I would still maintain the Alliance with the MCA.

In a letter I wrote on June 24, 1959 to Dr. Lim Chong Eu, who was then leader of the MCA and is now Chief Minister of Penang, I had this to say, among other things: "I have right through the campaigns defended the Alliance of UMNO and the MCA, and have even gone so far as to say that I would risk losing every seat rather than lose the friendship of the Chinese because in my mind that is the only guarantee for the happiness, peace and prosperity of our country.

"Undeterred we will fight the elections as the Alliance with the MIC, and with those members of the MCA who do not support your stand and believe in the honest intentions and integrity of the Alliance Party. Win or lose is immaterial so long as the people of the country appreciate our purpose and good intentions. I am sure that will come out in full force in support of our Party".

We won that 1959 election with an astounding land-slide victory, not only in the number of seats for the Alliance but in showing all-round support for Sino-Malay friendship. I recall that as a result of this understanding we were able to throw our whole weight against the forces of insurgency, and it was this unity that finally led to their defeat in 1960. This understanding must be regained.

When I was being fair and impartial, Malay "ultras" accused me of being pro-Chinese. Dr. Mahathir, the new Deputy Prime Minister, was one of them, so the Chinese are now sceptical of his feelings towards them, hence the wild speculation on. his attitude towards others. But those were popular words to gain the popular support of hot-headed youths in days gone by. Much water has since passed under the bridge and much experience has been gained. I don't think that with his responsibility as Deputy Prime Minister he now holds the same views.

Nevertheless, for the sake of peace, give him a chance. As he himself has said in a television interview, he is being labelled an "ultra-nationalist" by his political foes. He has stressed that he will clean his image. Let him prove his words, for he knows full well that the peace and security of our country hang completely on the Sino-Malay understanding and friendship.

Chapter Sixteen

UMNO Thirty Years After

One can hardly believe that on May 11, 1976, the United Malays' National Organisation (UMNO) reached thirty years of a most eventful life. Throughout the country the anniversary was celebrated on a very modest scale. I felt very happy to be invited by UMNO Perak and UMNO Selangor to attend their celebrations, as it has been a long time since I had anything to do with UMNO; I thought they had forgotten me completely.

It was nice to see present at the celebrations in Ipoh some old people who had been my indefatigable co-workers in re-building UMNO, which in turn led to our Alliance with the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) and the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) and finally to Independence for Malaya.

Those were difficult days indeed. UMNO needed resuscitation and reform after its founder, Datuk Onn Jaafar left in 1951 taking so many leaders and members with him to join the new party he had formed, the Independence of Malaya Party. Since then UMNO has gone through many stages of development and change to reach the heights it now enjoys as the main party running the Government.

During its thirty years of chequered life UMNO has encountered many adversities, but has overcome them all. Today it is a party with a prestigious name and reputation among stable political parties in this part of the world.

When the party first started, Datuk Onn called it the United Malay Organisation. The first time the Malays ever met together was in March, 1946. The reason for holding this Congress of Malay Parties was to condemn the McMichael Treaties and the formation of the Malayan Union. In this instance the Malays rallied behind their leader, Datuk Onn, and although they did not succeed in rejecting the McMichael Treaties or in returning the States to the status quo, at least they learned for the first time how to work together.

In those days I was only associated with Datuk Senu and

Encik Khir Johari in Sebrakas, the second Malay political party in the State of Kedah, the other being Persatuan Melayu.

Datuk Onn commanded much respect and affection from people in all walks of life, because at the time there was no-one else to rally behind. He had the standing and bearing of a leader, rarely seen in a Malay. Moreover, he was a good and forceful speaker.

The 1946 Congress was the first time the Malays had ever given a thought to politics in a big way. Before that time their politics had been confined to parochial matters, only those affecting their own States. Now for the first time they ventured forth under Datuk Onn's leadership into greater fields beyond, and so they began to feel a sense of their own importance.

Whatever Datuk Onn said went; whatever he wanted was done. All he had to do was whistle, and everyone would scramble to his beck and call. Such was Datuk Onn's popularity and influence with the people. So when Datuk Onn called in 1946 for the formation of UMNO, the party came into being.

First came the Congress of Malay Political Parties in May that year to discuss a Charter to form a new party. Delegates met together a second time at Ipoh in June 1946 when the Congress accepted the Charter, including a design for the UMNO flag.

In those early stages of forming UMNO, nothing of importance was done or achieved except to bring about unity among the Malays. But in 1949 a dispute arose over the suggested appointment of a Deputy High Commissioner. It was proposed that Datuk Onn should be appointed to the office.

The Rulers rejected this proposal on the grounds that it would not be proper for a member of the *rakyat* (an ordinary man) to hold office over and above the heads of the Rulers. With this disagreement, the idea of appointing a Deputy High Commissioner in the Malayan Union was dropped. It showed, however, that UMNO had not achieved sufficient strength to pull any strings with either the British or the Malay Rulers.

In May 1950, the UMNO General Meeting heatedly discussed the question of granting citizenship to non-Malays. The Malay Graduates' Association, of which Dr. (later Tun) Ismail Abdul Rahman was President, opposed this move very strongly. For the first time Datuk Onn faced opposition. According to the Graduates he had the audacity to agree to giving citizenship

to non-Malays.

If Independence for Malaya had been part of the bargain, this dispute would never have arisen, but unfortunately all that was asked was the granting of citizenship without any terms and conditions in return. Because of the anxieties the Malays already felt over the Malayan Union and the country's being in a State of Emergency, they were bitterly opposed to any further favours for non-Malays.

When Datuk Onn did not get his way he resigned, but he came back after being persuaded to do so by UMNO members in Johore. At a meeting in Kuala Lumpur in March 1951, UMNO made a move to change the slogan "Hidup Melayu" (Long Live the Malays) to "Merdeka" (Freedom). Datuk Onn rejected this proposal.

When he left UMNO, Datuk Onn said, "I wanted to open the doors of UMNO to whosoever wishes to be a member, irrespective of his racial origin, provided he accepts the basic policy of UMNO and accepts the Charter of UMNO.

"I regret that this Assembly rejected my proposal. On the other hand, they open the door to affiliates who have no connection with UMNO, and this I feel will obstruct UMNO's progress".

I took over from him on April 1, 1951, and continued as President until I retired in September 22, 1970. Tun Abdul Razak took over from me, and as a result of this change in the leadership, UMNO acquired a new look, but the biggest change of all came in 1974 with the disappearance of the Alliance as a political group; the Barisan Nasional being formed to take its place.

Parties, which had previously opposed the Alliance, came together as one, and consequently this might have led to the change of UMNO policy.

It is no more than a coincidence that now Datuk Onn's son, Datuk Hussein Onn, should have assumed the role of Acting Head of UMNO, which his father started as the first Malay party. However, it is a just reward for the services rendered by both father and son to UMNO in the early days. It is God's will — "Whatever will be, will be" — and now he is by the Grace of Allah the Prime Minister of Malaysia.

UMNO today is not quite like the UMNO of yesterday. There have been many alterations in its political set-up and outlook, perhaps because the times have changed. The changes taking

place today need careful attention and thought.

Any move that contradicts UMNO's basic policy will spell danger, and so today's leaders have to be careful before making any change. As I had occasion to remark earlier, there are so many people in UMNO today who were not originally members. Many of them were in Left-wing parties, which never co-operated with UMNO, or they were persons who opposed UMNO policy all along.

The fact that they have come to UMNO, and are now in UMNO, may be an honest move, brought about by changes of thought or heart, or they may have ulterior motives in joining UMNO. The only way of deciding whether they are honest and sincere is to see how they behave and how they react to UMNO's policy of making allies of the Chinese, the Indians and other races.

One of the bargains UMNO made to win the support of all these people for Independence was to give them a place in the country. In return UMNO received their respect for Malay rights and privileges. While others stick to their bargain, the Malays must be expected to reciprocate. That goes without saying. The Malays, Chinese and Indians are all Malaysians, and they enjoy their rights as such. All these rights are provided for in the Constitution. However, when Mr. Lee Kuan Yew started to attack these rights, we decided that Singapore must go its separate way.

Let's go back a little to see what Malaysia was like before the changes in leadership.

The First Development Plan aimed to give the man-in-the-street or at kampung level land on which to cultivate rubber, oil palm or other cash crops. Roads were built to enable farmers to transport their produce and sell it. Canals were dug at great expense to provide for increased rice cultivation. Altogether many thousands of miles of roads and works were built all over Malaya to help these people.

The plan to help the people developed according to calculations. Tun Razak was entrusted with the Development Plan, and he carried out his work conscientiously and ably. Money was forthcoming to meet all the needs of his Ministry. Everyone was happy and contented.

In the next five years the country experienced immense prosperity, peace and happiness, such as the people had never en-

joyed before in all of Malaysia's history. Industries grew so rapidly that it was impossible to accommodate them all in one or two localities.

As a result new centres opened up in other States. Besides Selangor, Perak and Penang, new industrial areas began in Negri Sembilan, Johore and Kedah and even in Perlis. On the East Coast similar centres opened, and towns began to grow where only huts and wooden shop-houses stood before.

What was even more exhilarating and encouraging was that there were no signs of Communist activities of any kind anywhere, other than one *hartal* organised by Red sympathisers in Penang. And even then this ended as soon as it began.

Malays could be admitted to schools, universities and the Civil Service with lower qualifications than needed by others. All these changes took place to help the Malays, but others benefitted likewise, and so industries grew in proportion in a way unequalled in any country in South Asia or Southeast Asia.

Then came the 1969 Elections, when many things happened. Communist-inspired opposition to the Alliance Party led to an outbreak of violence on May 13, and the sudden turn-about of Chinese voters angered UMNO members. I, too, was sadly disillusioned.

According to information, that reversal was due to fear and intimidation. Up till then everything had been going very well, but on that fateful and tragic day this dream of continuing peace exploded in our faces.

The election campaign was vicious. The opposition played on religious and racial issues, stirring up Malay and Chinese emotions and sentiments. The non-Malay parties declared that they intended to deprive the Malays of their rights, as provided for in the Constitution, asserting that they would introduce multi-lingualism in Malaysia if they were successful in the elections, while Malay parties outside UMNO went to the other extreme.

It was hard to stop all the tirades that went on during the campaign, and continuing afterwards with bad effects. For the first time, the Alliance lost a large number of seats, with the MCA suffering the worst catastrophe.

This reversal led to a change in the attitude of the Malays; there was much feeling of distrust for others. I tried to contain them without much success, for certain UMNO members took

advantage of the situation to put the blame on me, carrying on a campaign of vilification and hatred against me. The first split among the people of this country began to manifest itself; to my mind that was also the first indirect victory scored by the communists.

I stayed on as Prime Minister for one more year, and then left for Tun Razak to take over. The changes in policy under the new Prime Minister prompted others to say that the Government was concentrating all its efforts on helping the Malays without regard for the rights of others.

Rightly or wrongly that appears to be so, and before this policy should go too far, we must consider the consequences, as I feel we may fall again into a communist trap from which it will be very difficult to extricate ourselves. So we must correct the policy now before it is too late.

Recently I was asked what I thought of UMNO now. I was asked if anything could be done to bring back harmony among members who had been the pillars of UMNO's strength. The loyalty of its members, the strong feelings of comradeship they had for one another, were UMNO's proud boast, but this quality appears to be absent now, or almost so. My reply was that although I was getting on in years, on the other hand my loyalty to the party had never wavered. So I am standing by to help save UMNO in whatever way I can; what I have said before is still good, and remains good for all time.

The government, today, is certainly not the government which ran Malaya, and then Malaysia, in my time. Tun Razak changed all that. According to him, that merger was the best answer to Malaysia's political problems. Now that he is dead, it is up to Datuk Hussein Onn to carry on. It is UMNO's duty, just as it has always been, to stick loyally by its leaders; or else to choose new leaders.

The Government of Malaysia, however, is a merger of most of the political parties in this country, excepting the DAP (Democratic Action Party), Partai Rakyat and Pekemas. The Government's policies, therefore, cannot be expected to be the same as those under the Alliance. The policies of some of the combined parties differ and diverge. Take for example, those of UMNO and the PMIP (Pan-Malayan Islamic Party); one believes in racial harmony, while the other believes, with one eye shut, in Malay rights only.

UMNO and the Party Islam originally began as one party. Datuk Onn Ja'afar conceived the idea of starting a movement in UMNO to cater for the needs of religious people under the leadership of Haji Ahmad Faud. As a result, UMNO consisted of the Kaum Ibu, the Pemuda and a section to deal with Religious Affairs. Haji Ahmad Faud broke away in 1951 when I was appointed President of UMNO, after he had contested and lost against me. Then he joined the Independence of Malaya Party (IMP) and later the Party Negara, both of which were founded by Datuk Onn.

Party Islam emerged from the religious section of UMNO. It grew and gained strength in Kelantan, and even won a few seats in Kedah in the 1969 Elections. Now Party Islam has become a partner of the Barisan Nasional but its politics must remain different from those of UMNO.

To return to Government as it was in my time would mean a break-up of the existing party system, unless of course all the other parties should agree to toe the old Alliance Government line. And I think not.

A reversion to the Alliance policy would entail great difficulties and many dangers, and if it happened that I was asked to take over I could only do so through UMNO. There is no other way open to me; UMNO is the only party I know.

Moreover, the Alliance, to my mind, is the only partnership best suited to the conditions and characteristics of the country in which we live. It was the Alliance, after all, that kept the people of Malaysia together and united for so long a time, almost twenty years.

I remember the troubles I had in the early days of my leadership of UMNO. I could not take over our Headquarters in Johore Bahru in 1951, because everyone there had worked under Datuk Onn and, as was to be expected, they were loyal to him and therefore not ready to co-operate with me.

I found it necessary to order a reshuffle of the Headquarters' staff before I could assume proper control, and during the testing months that followed I went on working with only one clerk in my house at Telok Ayer Tawar in Province Wellesley. Even the UMNO Executive itself was full of Datuk Onn's men. As a result it was very difficult to get anything done, because we would meet with obstruction every time we met to plan for UMNO's progress.

It was only after we managed to expel all Datuk Onn's men that we could start work, and when we really began to function, only then did we manage to gain strong support and get things done. With all this new-found strength UMNO went ahead, making great progress.

According to reports the new men in UMNO are not on all fours with UMNO policy. I have stated in previous articles that some were members of left-wing parties before they joined UMNO. Perhaps, they may have veered to the right sufficiently to change their political outlooks before joining UMNO. On the other hand, they may have come in to take over UMNO, particularly at a time when UMNO members are so divided among themselves.

From my end, it is not possible for me to gauge what is actually happening in UMNO. It is for those who are effectively connected with the workings of UMNO to tell. Those who have spoken to me put forward their ideas — and they are all of one mind — that a reformation of UMNO is absolutely necessary to bring the party back to its former self.

Since my retirement, much water has passed under the bridge and many changes have taken place in UMNO. The main cause of the current trouble is that the Prime Minister of this country is not the leader of UMNO only, nor of the Alliance, but also of such former Opposition parties as Party Islam, Party Gerakan and the PPP (the People's Progressive Party). For this reason he does not and cannot give all his time and attention to UMNO. This is the dilemma being faced by the premier political party in the country.

When Tun Razak formed the Barisan Nasional he had in mind a one-party system. There appears to be no limit to the numbers who can join up, but whoever does join must toe the party line. As a result, to put the ruling party back on its old footing would take a lot of doing. Whether the people still want to go back to the days of the "Sailing Boat" and have an Alliance Government in power again, or whether they want to carry on with the way things are today, is a very big question.

A Barisan Government, which Tun Razak decided to have, was an easy way out of election difficulties and other political problems. His idea was that the country should have a one-party leader, and that would be the Prime Minister. One thing seemed certain; whoever was Prime Minister could stay on as such unop-

posed, and for as long as he liked.

What follows in the wake of this idea and what lies hidden along its path are knotty problems only insofar as they affect individuals, so Tun Razak could afford to ignore these as a matter of convenience. Datuk Hussein, who has succeeded him, has to face all these issues if he chooses to do so.

As I sit back after working for nineteen years, I can see the actors on the political stage playing their roles, saying their pieces. As spectators it is easy to see whether the acting on the stage is good or not; but if we go on and act, only then can we know our difficulties, even though we may be the authors of the play; the theme has changed so much.

At this moment, this author, sitting as a spectator, can venture a few comments only in his attempt to bring out the real plot of the story. I have a heart in this country, and therefore I consider myself duty-bound to speak my piece.

Those around the Government took great care that I should not return to politics. When I left I was completely black-balled, branded as anti-Malay — my own people for whom I had worked so hard through UMNO to put in a position of strength in this country for the first time in their history.

Even a book on the Independence of Malaya found its way into the schools, a volume written by Zainal Abidin which did not mention me as one of the men responsible for the Independence of our country. When a question was asked whether it was possible "to put on Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark", the book was withdrawn.

Another disservice I suffered, one which I can never forget, happened when I persuaded the Islamic countries to hold a conference in Kuala Lumpur to launch INNA, the Islamic National News Agency in 1972. The INNA delegates met on the sixth floor of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, the conference opening at almost the same time on the same day as another to mark the signing of the Spelling Agreement with Indonesia, meeting in the main Conference Hall of the same building.

I had nowhere to hide my face, although I had booked the Dewan for the INNA conference months earlier, and had invited representatives of all the Muslim countries to be present, in my own country to boost Malaysia's image, but my efforts were not appreciated.

When I retired as Prime Minister in 1970, I had decided

to devote my last years to the service of Allah. Now I am asked to come forward again and save UMNO, at an age when I should be thinking more of the next world rather than this one. However, to the last ounce of strength I have left in me, I repeat that I am ready and prepared to serve.

Chapter Seventeen

Fighting for Freedom

UMNO is now thirty-two years old. It was formed on May 11, 1946. I had little to do with its birth, but much more with its reconstruction. UMNO has played important roles during its lifetime, first under Datuk Onn, then under me, and then under Tun Razak, when it joined up with Parti Islam and other political parties to form a new party, the Barisan National. Under Datuk Hussein Onn I have no doubt it will be called upon to play another equally important role.

Let's go back to UMNO's history for a while. After the Second World War, Sir Harold McMichael, on the orders of the British Government, persisted in creating a Malayan Union in Malaya. The idea was to promote a common citizenship for all people living in Malaya, and to form one administration for the three differing types of Government then in existence, with only Singapore remaining outside as a Colony.

The British ambition was to bring the whole of the Federated Malay States, the Non-Federated Malay States and the Colonies of Penang and Malacca directly under British rule. The Sultan in each State would remain in his own right with no authority except to preside over matters affecting the Muslim religion. All else would be in the hands of the British Raj.

Sir Harold bulldozed the so-called treaty through without considering the feelings or the position of the Malay masses; hence the Malays with injured pride rose up as one under the late Datuk Sir Onn bin Ja'afar from Johore and fought the Malayan Union vigorously.

The United Malays' National Organisation, UMNO, sprang into life, with Malays from all States and Settlements condemning the Malayan Union with one voice as an act of perfidy, and insisting that the Malays must be consulted. Every Malay wore white cloth around his cap as a sign of mourning; in actual fact it was a signal to live or die for a cause, and that cause was to fight for Malay rights. In every nook and corner "Hidup

Melayu" ("Long live the Malays") was the call taken up by the masses.

The British Government had to give way to the demands, as otherwise there would surely be trouble. So in 1947 UMNO threw out the McMichael Treaty, and early in 1948 a revised Constitution was drawn up which gave legal sovereignty back to the Sultans to rule with the advice of the British Residents.

The Legislative Council was formed. It consisted of 15 official and 61 unofficial members, including 31 Malays, the rest being either Europeans, Chinese, Indians or Eurasians nominated by the High Commissioner.

The original qualifications for Malayan citizenship were stiffened appreciably to allow only those people who were British subjects of the second generation, both in the Federal territory and the States, who had lived for at least eight years in the Federation, to be citizens.

The new Federation was inaugurated through the efforts of UMNO under Datuk Sir Onn bin Ja'afar. That was the first important role UMNO played, and this accomplishment gave UMNO its political strength and power, first to fight and defeat the McMichael proposals for a Malayan Union, which would have robbed the Malays of their rights, and then to fight for the return of royal sovereignty which the Sultans had surrendered to the British without a fight.

During the turbulent period of the Communist insurrection, UMNO's role appeared to be less important. The slogan "Hidup Melayu" carried very little significance and weight in the face of the Communist cry of Independence for Malaya.

The Malays were beginning to realise that the Federation Government had not done much for the masses, and they were beginning to become restless and suspicious of British intentions to grant Home Rule. Quite a number of Malays turned to Indonesia for help in the hope that they would get human dignity and freedom through a union with Indonesia.

Some of the Malay leaders went over to Indonesia and began to hatch plans for a take-over of Malaya. Though they campaigned from abroad, their words were heard, and with many Malays beginning to lose interest in the Federation Government, a desire for real Independence began to form in their minds.

There was the Malay Graduates' Association headed by the

late Tun Dr. Ismail, and his brother Datuk Sulaiman bin Abdul Rahman and a few others from Johore who began criticising Datuk Onn openly. The intellectuals in UMNO began to lose confidence in Datuk Onn, and he himself found that UMNO's usefulness was past.

It was a Malay party with the slogan "Hidup Melayu", but to achieve autonomy for this country it would be necessary to get the support of the whole population of Malaya. Any racialist movement would not succeed, so he left UMNO to form the Independence of Malaya Party, the object of which was to get independence of a kind for Malaya with the control of foreign affairs still remaining with the British.

The Malays rejected this proposal as wholly unacceptable, as according to them, it was not an answer to the Communists' declared intention to liberate the people from imperialist rule. Such a half-baked idea of independence would only play into Communist hands.

There could be only one answer, and that was for the Malayan people either to make up their minds to remain as British subjects or fight both the imperialists and the Communists for a truly Malayan Independence.

UMNO was asked to play a leading role in this new move. The call for "Merdeka ("Freedom") rang throughout the country. It was obvious that serious thought had to be given to this demand, but where was UMNO? Was it prepared to undertake this new role, for its politics had so far been based on a narrow racialism? Could UMNO go it alone and fight for Independence without help from others? How strong was UMNO at that time?

All the leaders were dispersed, and demoralised after Datuk Onn quit. There was no money remaining, and no spirit left. The headquarters was in Johore Bahru, but half the men were still loyal to Datuk Onn and were intent on re-forming UMNO and bringing it into the IMP as one of its lackeys.

In 1951 I had just taken over from Datuk Onn, and with one clerk I moved to establish my headquarters in Telok Ayer Tawar, Province Wellesley, running UMNO from there for the next nine months. Then support came in from old members. The Malay Graduates, Tun Dr. Ismail, Datuk Sulaiman and others came out strongly in support of the new UMNO, and with that the slogan of "Hidup Melayu" gave way completely to the cry of "Merdeka", and the role of UMNO changed from championing

the cause of the Malays to the cause of Independence.

The path that lay ahead was tremendous, and I had to face very great difficulties, so much so that at times they appeared insurmountable. Nevertheless it was a task that had to be faced, and every ounce of energy, courage and resource had to be employed. Declaring that Independence must be fought constitutionally, I took a bold stand on this issue. Our politics must be clean, and the Independence Government must be one that could give the people a feeling of pride of place in the free world.

The situation called for a united effort by all races in the spirit of do-or-die for Malaya. Every man had to give his undivided loyalty and unite in a common purpose to fight for Independence. The task ahead was to win over the Chinese community, the Indian community and others, but first they had to look to Malaya as their home.

I asked those who considered themselves Malayans to come forward. This was not an easy task, for UMNO was looked upon by others as a racialist Malay party whose only concern was for the Malays, and a party arbitrarily opposed to other races.

In such a situation how was it possible for me to win over others to our cause or to the cause of Independence? UMNO had thrust on itself this new task, and an unenviable role it was. Failure would spell the end of its life, and I was to lead it. I was very new to the job, with no political background and very little experience, but do it I must.

The Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) was then led by Tun Sir Cheng-lock Tan, Tun Leong Yew Koh, Tun Sir H.S. Lee, Tan Sri Ong Yoke Lin (Omar), Tan Sri T.H. Tan (Tahir) and a few others, and these people had to be won over and they were sensitive about the Chinese place in Malaya.

The qualifications for citizenship and the use of their language deeply concerned them. This was a matter which had been the bone of contention on the formation of the Federation of Malaya. But how would I get UMNO's approval to give in on such a serious issue as this? But thanks to Allah I succeeded, because they were determined to win freedom and were ready to make sacrifices.

Then came the Indians. The Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) was then under Mr. K.L. Devaser who was undecided, but

later on came in as a member of the Alliance. However, it was only after Tun V.T. Sambanthan had taken over leadership that the MIC, as the Indian political party, joined wholeheartedly with the Alliance Party.

Besides we had other forces to reckon with. The Rulers had also to be won over. Under the British they were very content to be Heads of State with good incomes and palatial homes. They knew that the Maharajahs and the Rajahs of India and Pakistan had lost their thrones on Independence, and the Sultans of the Indonesian archipelago had suffered worse fates. They had already forgotten what UMNO had done for them, that is, having returned their royal prerogative to them.

To make the story brief, after much persuasion and much hankering, they all agreed — the Rulers, the Chinese, the Indians and other Malayans — to support our movement, and so it was we asked for self-determination to be decided at the polls. There was a tussle about this which took a long time to settle, and we decided on a show-down with the Government, withdrawing all our members from all the Councils in a show of strength.

It was only then that the British Government realised the seriousness of the situation and gave in, and finally consented to the holding of elections. As a result, the Alliance Party on the issue of Merdeka swept the country and won every seat contested but one.

In 1955 negotiations started and on August 31, 1957, Malaya for the first time in its history declared its Independence. With its new-found pride, the Emergency which had plagued this country for twelve long years since 1948 was brought to an end three years later in 1960.

Then Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah came in to join us and the newly-independent nation of Malaysia came into being. This is the role which UMNO had played along with its partners, the Chinese under the MCA and the Indians under the MIC.

We also emerged victorious from the Soekarno Communist-backed Confrontation against the enlarged Malaysian federation, and turned this country into a highly successful nation. Industries sprang up everywhere with many factories producing all kinds of goods, and providing men and women with work and incomes never known before. Industrial sites grew from the South in Johore to the North in Perlis.

Thirty-two years have now passed — the first phase was UMNO's fight for the Malay rights against others, and the second phase was to fight for Independence in Alliance with the others, bringing our country a fair name abroad and peace and happiness at home.

Then in 1970 Tun Abdul Razak took over and under his leadership, the Barisan National was formed in 1974 in alliance with Party Islam and a new call "Hidup Bumiputra" appeared to be the new order. The Alliance Party became part of history.

Naturally my heart and loyalty is still with the Alliance. I have at least the satisfaction of feeling that people of all races have made progress happily together, and it was also my hope and prayer that they would continue to live with one another in this country for good or for worse.

I have said that the life of a nation cannot be judged by that of a man, for a man dies, but a nation must go on and on for all time. Pray God that this will be so with Malaysia.

It must also be remembered that this is a country of many races. If they cannot live together then the danger is they will fight one another and if that happens, then God help us. I consider it the duty of every leader in this country to work for peace and goodwill.

When I hear now of UMNO people shouting out at the top of their voices for Malay rights, it strikes me that the country is going back to where we started before Independence. It is a far cry from the time when we fought for our Independence and achieved success. So I think to myself, are we going ahead or are we slipping back?

The third role which UMNO must play must be to build Malaysian consciousness among the various peoples in this country for the gap seems to have widened a lot since those happy years of early nationhood. There is so much talk about bumiputras today that it appears in the minds of others that they are being turned into second-class citizens of the country. This is the last impression that must be created in the minds of the people, and the leaders of this country must try and put things right.

Many things must be done for the bumiputras to help bring them up if possible to the level of others. Right from the start of Independence the policy was to give them a sense of belonging and ownership of the country and all the comforts of life.

In the urban areas, help was given for Malay participation in business, and many Malays succeeded. The demand today by some irresponsible Malay leaders is to give Malays this-and-that without considering what effect their words can have on the nation.

This is a very dangerous trend in Malaysia's political thinking among UMNO leaders today, and in their efforts to outdo Parti Islam they have broken their words to their allies. No nation can resist time, and as time marches on, the nation must progress ahead. To be quite honest the Malays have never had it so good, and it is not like what it was in the colonial days. We are Heads of State, Executive Heads of Government and State Councils, Heads of Armed Forces, Heads of Departments, Heads of some banks and some business houses. Give some thought to this good and lovely country of ours as a whole and less to our personal selves, and with this there will be peace and plenty for all time and happiness for all people.

By coincidence Datuk Hussein Onn is the son of the founder of UMNO, Datuk Onn bin Ja'afar. His responsibility is obvious, that is, to lead UMNO in its third role, which is to build a common loyalty to Malaysia, and UMNO members must give him their support.

Chapter Eighteen

Intra-Party Problems

Whenever people of different views get together for a common purpose, there is bound to be disagreement. And so it is among member parties of the National Front, and its leaders must take steps to see that these disputes do not get out of hand.

Action can be taken to end the row that has arisen, but that in itself will not bring permanent peace to the members involved. Once the quarrel breaks out and the parties show no inclination to come to terms, there can be no more goodwill and understanding among them.

In the meantime, the eyes and ears of the people are wide open to see and hear what the outcome will be. Those in sympathy with the party in power will want the matter settled as quickly as possible, and the opposition will want to see it grow worse in the hope that they will benefit from the rift.

If that is all we have to contend with, the problem will not be all that serious, but the outcome of the quarrel has its other side-effects. It will create political tension and unease in the country, and cause a loss of confidence in the Government, as a consequence of which there will be setbacks in trade and business resulting in loss of revenue to Government and a damaging effect on the nation's image abroad.

If one looks at the situation in this light, it will be serious, but how else can one look at it? One can console oneself with the fact that all this political bickering is over small matters of local interest and importance. There is no question of others being involved, either in the private or public sectors. All that has emerged is the struggle for political power among States and parties, a natural outcome of a democratic government. The trouble in Malacca had been allowed to linger for a long time, and when the party took action the problem was how to resolve it.

The sore had already festered so much that the only course open was to suspend the rebel members of the Assembly. Now

attempts are still being made to get them to soften down towards the Chief Minister, turn back and make peace, and given time the trouble will be smoothed out.

Unfortunately they were adamant and refused to budge from the stand they had taken. In such a situation, Article 71 of the State Constitution provides for the State Assembly to decide if the Menteri Besar or Chief Minister still enjoys the confidence of the members. Parliament has also the right to see that essential provisions in the Constitution are observed in the State involved. This is where the Prime Minister comes in.

The Menteris Besar, Chief Ministers and State Executive Councillors are also "watchdogs" of the States and may get into difficulties with members and even with the Heads of State. And if a matter cannot be settled amicably in private, then it must be taken to the State Assembly.

A friend told me that he attended a dinner in Ipoh reçently and was surprised to see the Sultan of Perak growing hair rather untidily on his face and chin. He enquired as to the reason for this "aesthetic" appearance and was told that His Royal Highness would not shave until his Menteri Besar, Tan Sri Ghazali Jawi, had finally retired, and while the Menteri Besar remained in office, His Royal Highness would continue to look less regal and more Bohemian.

However, some members of Royalty have their ways for showing their displeasure and the Sultan of Perak is one of them, and this is his way of showing it. The Menteri Besar, however, remains unperturbed as, according to him, he has already decided to leave and has given notice of it to the Prime Minister.

Now, we have the case in Kelantan, even more serious than any of the others. The dispute between the head of the Parti Islam, PAS, and the deputy head of the party, who is at the same time the Menteri Besar of Kelantan, is growing more unwieldy. Kelantan is the headquarters and stronghold of PAS, and any such quarrel between the two heads is bound to bring about a split which is bound to affect the party adversely.

The cause of the trouble is of great importance, as it concerns the alienation of large tracts of State land given out under lease for a number of years to a big company. This, according to the Menteri Besar, is irregular and he refuses to carry out the terms of the agreement.

I recall, too, that this matter became a serious issue between

Datuk Asri and myself, which finally led to the taking of an oath on the Holy Quran in a mosque in 1969.

However, much has been said by both sides. Those twenty members of the Assembly who disagreed with his stand obviously felt that whatever agreement had been reached before, it was his duty to accept it obediently. So the State of Kelantan is in turmoil over this matter.

If a referendum is held, as proposed by the Menteri Besar, and assuming that he succeeds in gaining the support of the people, simultaneously as he loses it in the Assembly, then the situation would be untenable indeed.

Whatever the result may be, one thing is certain — the image of the party itself will be seriously jeopardised. Perhaps the Prime Minister might be able to step in as leader of the Barisan Nasional to suggest a settlement, acceptable to both sides.

Then, on the less serious side, there is the trouble among the leaders of the MCA, another member of the Barisan (and an old member of the Alliance). Any differences among their own members which are likely to harm the party's standing must not be allowed to deteriorate.

The election of MCA officials is now over; those who have been accepted as officials must sink their differences and bury the hatchet. The interests of the party must come first. Leaders, office-bearers and officials must get together often and try and laugh off the encounters they had at the last Annual General Meeting. It may appear awkward at first, but if attempts at peace are made often enough, peace can certainly be restored.

We had a break-up once before — between UMNO and MCA. It was the custom for the two parties to meet often in the days of Tun Cheng-lock Tan, and differences were ironed out peacefully over dinners. Then the MCA changed hands, and the new leaders appeared removed and reluctant to get close to me. Finally, there was no alternative but to break away.

When Tun Tan Siew Sin took over, the old atmosphere returned and the Alliance of UMNO and MCA continued in peace and goodwill. With understanding between UMNO and MCA, came understanding among the peoples of different racial origins.

As for the MIC, a report said that Tan Sri Manickavasagam had a tough time with his Central Working Committee in trying to bring about peace between MIC youth and the Deputy Presi-

dent, Mr. Samy Velu. MIC youths had taken exception to his criticism of the youth wing, for what he alleged was an attempt on their part to undermine his position and authority as Deputy-President of MIC.

If the contest is restricted to the Vice-President and the youth it could be settled amicably and in no time. No hard words should be bandied about to the discomfort of both sides. Other members of the MIC, however, are keeping quiet and aloof from this quarrel. On this score, it is expected that the trouble will blow over very soon.

Then there is trouble breaking out in Sarawak over statements made by SUPP in public. According to Datuk Patinggi Abdul Rahman, who is also State National Front Leader, it is a breach of good faith to air quarrels in public. If there is any cause for complaint by any component party of the Alliance in Sarawak, the matter should be thrashed out privately at meetings. However, he is confident that whatever cause, the issue can be resolved without difficulty, as there is a lot of understanding and goodwill in the National Front in Sarawak.

"Uneasy lies the head that wears the Crown". My sympathy is with Datuk Hussein Onn, who has on his hands all these problems. His concern on national matters appears very light in comparison with what is happening in the Party Barisan. One thing, however, Datuk Hussein Onn ought to be thankful for, and that is the quarrel is not between one Barisan Nasional party and the others on a matter of national policy. It is very much a parochial affair and confined only to individuals and the members of the parties at local levels.

A PAS member in Kedah, Haji Mohamed Ramli, intends to propose a vote of no confidence against the Menteri Besar, charging that the Menteri Besar has been "too slow" in carrying out development projects. The situation can become serious, as the Alliance is bound to support the Menteri Besar.

The present Kedah State Assembly comprises 12 UMNO members, nine PAS, two MCA, one each from Gerakan, the DAP and an Independent.

Then in Negeri Sembilan, the sole PAS member has indicated that he plans to propose a vote of no confidence in the Menteri Besar, even before the outcome of the inquiry into the death of the late Mr. Lim Eng Wah is known, while in Perak trouble is brewing.

Meanwhile press reports say another political party may be formed and the UMNO Youth Executive Secretary, Encik Saidin Tamby, has warned its members that the party might be recruiting members from UMNO.

What prompted Saidin Tamby's warning? He probably had in mind current rumours spread by members of the Coalition who are not members of UMNO. What can be their object but to stir up confusion within the Barisan Nasional?

The picture that must have formed in the public mind is serious enough to warrant the setting up of a political committee of UMNO to take stock of the situation so that something can be done to prevent political dissension from breaking out and causing severe erosion of the party's strength. UMNO must remain solidly behind their leaders, whatever happens.

The party is the pillar of political stability in the country. As a political entity, it has been accepted by all as the premier party and the number one political force working for the good of all, Malays and non-Malays, who look to this country as their home and the object of their loyalty.

Under the leadership of the party, the Malays first came together as one race of people conscious of their heritage and the duty they owe to each and all. From that consciousness they worked hard to bring others on to one line of thought and identify themselves with UMNO.

Towards this end, UMNO made a big sacrifice by agreeing to citizenship rights for others on the principle of *jus soli* whereby everyone born in this country would have an automatic right to be a citizen of the country.

The situation before this provided such a right only to Malays. It was hard enough for me to prove to my people that this particular right had been written into our Constitution, and that it was a false notion to induce the Malays to believe that we were the only people with a stake in the country.

In the meantime, as a divided people, we would remain forever under colonial rule, as long as policy-making was vested in the colonial masters. Some high offices — such as those of Menteri Besar and State Secretary — were granted to Malays but the overall policy was dictated by the imperial power. What was exploitable here went to the governing power. For years commerce and industry continued on the same low keel.

UMNO saw how desperate the situation had become. Indeed,

for the Malays, it was getting critical and unless Independence was given, they would in time sink into oblivion. Greater understanding with those others who lived here had to be sought and achieved, and UMNO won the friendship of the Chinese through the MCA and of the Indians through the MIC. Thus the Alliance Party was formed and with this strength behind it, the Alliance fought constitutionally for Independence and won an overwhelming victory that had never been equalled anywhere in the world.

The Alliance Government from 1955 to 1970 served the country with one mind and one aim — to bring peace and prosperity to the country, while giving special considerations to Malays. This worked out well and the political stability we had was testimony to the goodwill that existed.

Even then, in 1959, the three partners in the Alliance might have had to bust up over the allocation of seats to the MCA. But for the timely take-over of the MCA by Tun Tan Siew Sin, Tan Sri Omar Ong Yoke Lin and Tan Sri T.H. Tan, the worst could have happened.

Now, with the addition of all these other members in the Barisan, it is conceivable that what is happening is incidental and troubles will show themselves every now and again, particularly before elections.

On the whole, the country has enjoyed peace and prosperity, in marked contrast to the erratic political scene in other Asian and African countries where there are outbreaks of revolution to bring about changes of Government and political upheaval, chaos and instability. But thanks to God, this country has been spared all these troubles.

But these strong factors did not prevent squabbles within the National Front.

Tun Razak, who took a lot for granted, formed the Barisan Nasional to narrow the gap of political differences. He set up a one-party government and ran the country without political squabbles and bickering. No doubt every political leader feels likewise, and I, for one, would have liked it.

But I don't subscribe to this view because parliamentary democracy requires that every party in Parliament must express its views. Whether they hurt the Government or not, is immaterial, but each man sitting in opposition must speak his mind.

I had a lot of trouble before with the late D.R. Seenivasagam and his late brother in Parliament, but outside we were at peace with one another because I knew they had to do their duty. It was the same with Dr. Tan Chee Khoon's party, Pekemas, and PAS.

There was never any hard feeling in my heart for those leaders who had to oppose us. They were there to find fault with the Government in power. The more they found the better they stood in the eyes of the people they represented. That's parliamentary democracy at its best!

When Tun Razak changed the party to the Barisan Nasional on June 1, 1974, he did it on his own initiative. He was acting within his rights as the Prime Minister and the undisputed leader of the country and the Alliance. He could mould the party to any shape and form he liked.

The Barisan Nasional went off well for a time, but spots of bother soon emerged in the party causing embarrassment to the leaders. Hidden flaws started to surface like boils on the body, and like boils, they grow worse in time.

Before this happens, it is timely and proper for a committee to be formed with representatives from all members of the Barisan to take stock of the over-all situation.

I have been, as I said, in the fortunate position of being able to see the sons and daughters of my colleagues of former years taking over the shaping of the nation's destiny. Their duty must be to carry on the good work started in those golden days of our Independence. They must fulfil every promise made to ensure peace and happiness for all Malaysians, irrespective of race or creed.

The party must not at this stage of our prosperity and progress falter, nor must it fail to give the leadership which the people confidently and implicitly expect of it. The leader of the party, Datuk Hussein Onn, must be given the support he needs to give our nation its pride of place in the enlightened world of today.

Chapter Nineteen

Bringing Our People Together

Finance Minister Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah has warned against extremism in any shape and form and, according to him, quite rightly so; extremism has no place in Malaysia. Many agree with him and in a country of many races, of diverse cultures and differing religions, he said, "racial, cultural, economic and political integration is the lifeblood of Malaysia, without which we will be crushed... We cannot progress in a situation of polarisation and tension among the communities. Peace and progress must be based on political reason, wise decision and tolerance; let us live together in diversity, let us fight on to forge unity from this diversity".

I cannot agree with him more. He talked about some people wanting a totalitarian regime. That's the dream of the desperadoes, but it won't work here.

In China and Russia and some other Communist countries, it's the pattern of Government. People have to do what they are told or else face the consequences. So some think that it might work equally well here; it certainly will not, for we have adapted ourselves to a democratic way of life.

We have seen and heard enough of socialist states and totalitarian states; nobody but the top men have the say. Nobody is happy and their freedom of expression, forms of enjoyment and other social activities are severely curtailed. I have never yet in my life met anybody coming from a so-called socialist state who can honestly say he is happy. I do not think anybody is. So why all this talk about turning paradise into hell. Who wants to hear sighs and moans when we can have laughter and merriment?

I am proud to say, though other people are entitled to their opinion, that we can boast of being free, at least we are free to do what we like, enjoy ourselves as we like so long as we do not offend others and the authorities. In other words, so long as we can live our own lives, so long as we can expect happiness, except of course trouble from parasites, gangsters and thugs who plague

society, the only serious matter which is of great concern to all right-thinking Malaysians is that of the Communists and racialist-minded people. There is proof that they do exist here in large numbers. Unfortunately, they will not go back to the land of their adoration, but would rather remain here to create tensions.

Try as much as one likes, but to bridge the gap that exists among the different communities appears insurmountable as time goes on. These people make it difficult. This is a problem the leaders of Government and all responsible communities have their minds on, but are unable to do more than look at the problem in despair.

Can a nation divided maintain its security? Can it face enemies from within? The 1949-1957 insurrection proved that with all the strength of the British and Commonwealth Forces, fighting the MCP without the support of the people was a hard task, and to break the Communist resistance was well-nigh impossible. Only when it was assured that Independence was meant for Malaysians as against the Communists did the people give their full support and co-operation to the Government, and the battle was won.

The meeting in Baling was the turning-point in our fight against the Communists, and all the people showed a bold front, united for the first time to defend this country against the imperialists and the Communists. The battle for freedom was won. That generation has not yet passed.

The promises we made, that is to live together with the maximum of understanding and goodwill, are still fresh in the minds of many older men. Can our people forget that grand record which brought so much glory to our country? Disasters are taking place around us and governments fall like ten-pins. People have had to flee their countries for safety elsewhere, happiness for them is gone; many have lost their loved ones. Could we risk facing such a catastrophe (and it is easy for trouble to break out here) where people in this country are made up of so many races and of so many religions and are so divided?

It is a risk not worth the taking. The well-being of the country rests on understanding and goodwill among the people, and this must be the first consideration of all our good citizens. Our nation came into being through our joint efforts. It was nurtured by us in its infancy, and now that it has grown to maturity we must not ruin it. Everyone of us must maintain a code of conduct

and standard of loyalty and spare our thoughts in the service of this nation.

It is criminal for anyone living in this country to plan trouble and bring about chaos and strife. 'In diversity we have found unity,' said Tengku Razaleigh. In the many hundreds of years that our forefathers have lived together we have had no serious trouble; let it remain so now. The culture must be like the races themselves, multi-racial, but the basic foundation of a nation must be a common language, it must be Malay, a language spoken by all in order to forge unity.

Higher institutions of learning must perforce still use English for a long time to come, for we need education to bring our nation up to the level of developed nations.

The Government has been blamed for its bumiputra economic policy. The policy itself is good, and also the intention to give at least thirty per cent bumiputra participation in the economic life of the country by 1990. But those entrusted with the implementation are inclined to force things the wrong way and in consequence jam the machine and cause a breakdown. The goal aimed at is thirty years, so why the hurry?

During the colonial days we hardly heard of any bumiputra having any share in any business or industry, and a few got government jobs, but most were daily-rated workers in the non-Federated Malay States. Obviously this had to be remedied, but an overdose of medicine will not do much good.

Obviously too, it is now necessary for boards to be set up by the Government to go into this matter and to find ways and means of implementing bumiputra participation that can ensure its success without hurting or antagonising others.

Non-bumiputras used to own thirty per cent of the business of this country and foreign interests owned the rest. The Government has levelled up the position between Malaysian and foreign investors to a point of compromise. With good handling it might well help put bumiputras in the picture.

Drastic measures taken in a frantic hurry are no help. Others who have the interests of this country at heart must give material help and not just pay lip-service. Many bumiputras have been taken into big business as sleeping partners and draw their pay without having a say in the affairs of the business. This is not the kind of help that counts for bumiputras. It appears to me to be necessary not only for Government to do what is right by the

people, but also for the people by the Government.

There are quite a number of people who behave like "birds of passage". When they find things are not going well with them they just fly away; their loyalty to the country does not exist. They leave like a flock of birds that comes for the pickings; when there is no more left they flap their wings and fly to other lands. It is easy with them, but the indigenous birds must remain here whatever the situation may be.

It is true that following Independence the bumiputras have had an edge over the others in politics, but the non-bumiputras have had a double-edge over bumiputras in other activities, and even more so now.

In the course of Independence it was the policy of the Alliance Government to try and work together in the interests of the country and to adopt a give-and-take policy. In course of time matters would adjust themselves sufficiently, it was hoped, to give everybody his piece of pie.

Of late this does not appear to be the case. The idea of bringing them together, to think of themselves as Malaysians with loyalty to this country appears to be drifting further and further away. The responsible leaders therefore have a duty to perform in order to bring them together again and help to build a united Malaysian nation, for divided we must fall.

The economy of this country is the mainstay for peace and stability, and if anything goes wrong with it then we can expect a crisis which will come from quarters who are always ever-ready to find fault with the Government.

I remember the *hartal* in Penang in 1967 which caused the loss of a few innocent lives just because the country was forced to devalue its currency. This is a distinct indication of the forces that are ready and waiting for opportunities to disrupt peace and good order in this country. According to Tengku Razaleigh the economy is in good shape. In 1976 the country had a surplus budget of two hundred million ringgit and in the same year, too, the country had a trade surplus of about 3.7 billion ringgit or $3,000 million.

There are millions of acres of good land still unexplored and undeveloped, and these are all national assets, which in effect means that the country has plenty of wealth in hand to meet any eventuality.

As for petroleum, according to him, export exceeds import,

which means we are independent on fuel. Agricultural land will be opened up in course of time for the people of this country "irrespective of race or religion".

The whole of Tengku Razaleigh's statement appears very encouraging, coming as it did from the Finance Minister of the country. Unfortunately these important facts, most reassuring to the public, were omitted from press reports.

According to another source, and this comes from Datuk Musa Hitam, Malaysia is the world's Number One exporter of tropical hardwoods. This, of course, is causing concern to the authorities as forest produce is considered a wasting asset.

As regards tin, according to him, in 1970 the volume of tin from Malaysia was 91,000 tons, but in 1976 the volume was reduced to 80,240 tons; but there are many tin-bearing areas in the country still untapped. State Governments, however, have been most careful about granting leases because like timber it is a wasting asset.

To sum up in one word, the economic situation in the country is "excellent", and while it remains so the country's security is sound and nobody need lose any sleep over it. Our prayer is that it will continue to be so for a long time to come, and with that achieved, peace in the country and happiness for the people are doubly assured.

Chapter Twenty

The Role of the Media

I am not a journalist by profession; nor do I pretend to be one. I keep no diary to which I can turn for reference; I rely on my memory. By the grace of God I can still remember events that happened years ago, and all the people involved, but not exact dates and names; only occasionally so.

I became involved in *The Star* by accident. Shares and the Chairmanship were offered to me to prevent the paper from being taken over by an interested but powerful party in Kuala Lumpur. So to save it I bought some shares. Then a few other influential friends joined me; to be correct, I pulled them in.

As it turned out, *The Star* gave me the opportunity to write about my life and opinions in a two-page spread each week, which I entitled "Looking Back". Now my column is called, "As I See It".

Another spur to my writing was Encik Aziz Ishak, one of my former ministers. It was he who persuaded me in 1974 to allow him to write my life story, and this made me spend quite a lot of money, employing a Malay clerk at a salary of $1,000 per month.

Then, after a few months, and nearly $14,000 of my money gone on fact-finding, he suggested that an agreement be drawn up, in which he should be given a half-share of the profit, the costs of preparing the book and its publication to be borne by me.

However, when the agreement was drawn up no mention was made of my right to approve the manuscript before sending it to a publisher. When I asked him the reason, he said he had the right to do what he liked; all I had to do was to sit back and receive a half-share of the profit and bear all the working costs.

I said it was all very well of him to say that, but it was preposterous to suggest that what was being written about my life should be passed without my approval — definitely "No". So that was the last I saw of him, or my "story".

One of the things I wanted to see done at *The Star* was more time and space spent to tell readers what is happening in this

country. Our papers mostly carry news from foreign sources — news obtained from these agencies — telling us a great deal about what happens in Germany, America, the Middle East, South Africa, Vietnam and China, in fact almost everywhere, except news taking place here "at home".

In the old days our daily papers reported a lot of local news, news from the towns and the villages. Today with *Bernama*, a Government news agency, to which all newspapers subscribe, we are inclined to depend on it for news. If we get no news from this source we are stuck; the local news received from *Bernama* is the same in all the newspapers.

In days gone by when I was a Deputy Public Prosecutor, we used to see groups of reporters present in the courts to cover cases. Some of their reports were so good that they were quoted in subsequent cases by lawyers and judges.

But not so today. The emphasis seems to be on sensational cases, like rape, and often done so badly that just as we are getting interested, the report ends. Or for days on end, a verbatim account of a trial is published, making one lose interest on the third day or so.

Then we also read about gang robberies, bank hold-ups and other serious crimes. These are news events of great interest, but would have been more so if the criminals had been caught or shot dead, or if good crime detection was mentioned in the courts — but no, they often go scot-free to commit more crimes.

We also lack news of social events and other happenings in local circles; instead we read what Dr. Henry Kissinger or Mr. Kosygin or Chairman Mao are jabbering about.

Papers give a lot of space to what Ministers, Deputy Ministers and officials do or say. But there are many others among our citizens who give much of their time and money to extra-mural activities and social work. Although these citizens are voluntarily making major efforts to help the people, unfortunately none, or few of their good works, ever receive due recognition from our daily press.

Another great cause of discontent is the failure of television, that most important of mass-media, to play its proper role. Almost every home in this country has a TV set, a treasured household possession, without which they feel "lost". In the evenings members of a family gather in front of the TV, glue their eyes

to the screen and absorb all they see and hear. It follows that a family without a TV set in its house will have a dull time. Some shops operate a 24-hour repair service, so that no home need be deprived of its evening entertainment. Each news item that comes alive on the screen will be watched with interest.

Unfortunately, however, the standards of TV in Malaysia have fallen rather too low for the liking of progressive-minded Malaysians. It was encouraging to hear of efforts to improve TV standards, but nothing seems to have been done and the standard of the programmes is still low. Night after night we are told of Government achievements, but when we hear too much of the same thing we begin to lose interest. At the same time the TV omits important sporting events. Some events, like the Derby, the Grand National and the Melbourne Cup, are of world interest, but these are never shown on television. It is a pity, for instance, that during the past two years, though the Melbourne Cup, the greatest racing event in Australia, was won by Malaysian owners, the news passed unheralded in our country. Yet Malaysia is the only country outside Australia ever to win that coveted trophy.

People are interested in what is happening in the various parts of the country, in the towns and kampungs. In England one sees TV reporters going around collecting opinions about important events from men in the street, but nothing like that ever happens here.

Then, too, most of the interesting programmes are shown too early; they could rearrange the programmes to suit the viewers. For instance, Peristiwa (the daily news reel) should come on in the early part of the evening, and other entertainment at times that suit the viewers best, say, after the News. Another complaint is that often our TV shows a good film at about 11 pm, when most people are getting ready to go to bed.

There is a feeling that Malaysia could have more channels than the two run by the Government. I know there are several concerns keener than ever to have a share in television business, wanting to present and show their own programmes, these firms being prepared to invest large sums of money. They are even willing to instal colour TV, which the Government itself has declared it cannot afford to do for a few more years.

It is a pity we cannot have colour-television now, particularly as Singapore has already got it. Some people in Johore have

already installed colour-sets to tune in to programmes from Television Singapore. As a matter of fact, even Brunei has colour TV — but then, of course, Brunei is a very rich country.

Have we really advanced much further in our TV than when we first started? The general opinion seems to be that we have not; in fact we have fallen behind. This important branch of the mass media must be reviewed with the object of bringing it up-to-date, and now is an opportune time to do so.

The Government looks on television as a means of giving instruction to the public, informing the people what they are expected to do. In the Government's view TV is a means to provide education in civics, so from 8 pm to 10.30 pm you get your lessons, but the public in Malaysia, however, would like to see what is going on in the country. They hear more on the radio than they see on TV, especially on sports and world news. However, it appears that our television lags behind in these essentials. When members of the public are asked to give their opinions on the programmes, invariably they have little to say in their favour.

One has only to read the newspapers to realise how many letters editors must receive every day, letters complaining about certain programmes or the times these are shown, or wondering what has happened to a particular favourite series, and, to be fair, patting TV Malaysia on the back every now and then. Admittedly, the programmes have improved, but more can still be done.

I feel strongly that television should try to work much harder to bridge this gulf in news items by putting the people themselves on the screen and into the news. After all TV Malaysia has spent a lot of money in creating a National TV Network by satellite to show their programmes simultaneously throughout the whole of East and West Malaysia.

Another important reason why we need good television programmes is to help keep growing youngsters at home and off street-corners away from undesirable company. Unfortunately it happens too often today that as soon as the youngsters get home, they immediately dress to go out. When asked why they don't stay at home and watch TV, they usually reply, "There is nothing to see".

Some people allege that TV tends to distract studious boys from their home-work, because they will sit in front of the "box"

instead of reading their books. Personally I don't agree with this view, as really studious boys — and girls for that matter — are not interested enough in TV to want to give up their lessons. They usually do their work between 8 to 10 or 11 pm, and then go to bed.

What about the children when they first come home from school after having lessons all day? This is a time when they can relax before beginning their nightly studies. So I think particular attention should be paid to entertaining programmes for school-going children between six and eight years. We used to have good cartoons and other fantasies for children in the old days.

Chapter Twenty-one

No Way for the Reds ....

When I visited London recently, old friends would pose the same question "How are things in Malaysia?" — meaning, of course, were we expecting trouble in Malaysia? My answer was that things were quickly returning to normalcy.

At one period, there was a natural tendency towards nervousness and concern, when Tun Abdul Razak passed away suddenly in 1976 and Datuk Hussein Onn took over as his successor. Datuk Hussein was hardly known, and was not even expected to succeed Tun Razak, at least not in the way events happened. Now after he has held the post for more than a year, people are beginning to show increasing confidence in him.

After all, Malaysian society is adaptable to change, provided, of course, changes are not detrimental to the way of life the people habitually enjoy, or likely to obstruct the country's developing economy. Whoever can provide good government and a happy society, the people will accept, without much fuss about his leadership.

I would like to mention here how difficult it was for Mr. Lee Kuan Yew to plan his administration in the days when splits took place in the People's Action Party, but now that he has proved his worth and is delivering the goods in Singapore he has become a national hero. He is a hard task-master but the people want good government and they have it; so they are happy with him. Given a chance and the support of the right people, Datuk Hussein Onn can also succeed.

Admittedly, people were nervous with what was happening here, at least in the early days of Datuk Hussein Onn's assumption of office as Prime Minister. There was disunity in the Cabinet and factions were formed within the Party, which admittedly still persist but with less obviousness. Quite wisely Datuk Hussein Onn is paying scant attention to all this, not that he is not worried but I presume he realises that worry does not help matters; it is clear thinking that counts. On that score I can say Datuk

Hussein Onn is a wise leader.

The factions within the Government are confined only to a few leaders in government. The rest of the Cabinet members show little interest in any power struggle. They just don their caps and carry on with their business as usual. Every night we see some of them on the television or hear them on the radio, and quite frankly I am pretty tired of it all.

These leaders may flap their wings and crow but once their wings are clipped they will quickly settle down. There are others at the very top of the feudal scale, who also need to have their wings clipped. Actually they are mostly harmless, but slightly headstrong, seekers after power and publicity, while a few look for material benefit. None of them is a security risk.

Those against whom we have to be on guard are the Communists, the anti-nationalists and the diehard racialists. I don't have to expand on these points as everyone knows who they are; unfortunately people fear them, otherwise their activities and modus operandi would present little danger.

When I was in office the same people hounded me and gave me trouble. They started a *hartal* just because we were compelled to devalue our currency by a small percentage to meet a national exigency. They will use any excuse, in fact, to start trouble. Then they boycotted the national elections without any plausible reason except to cause embarrassment to my Government, and perhaps for the Opposition to win seats. This led to the violence of May 13, 1969. Why did they do this? What's worse, why did thousands of people support them?

These are the trouble-makers and the true enemies of the people of this country, and yet the people gave in to them so meekly. Strange as it may appear, the trouble-makers are mostly found in Penang. The *hartal* was carried out there and the killing of an UMNO man occurred there. These appeared fertile ground for racialist and anti-nationalist activities. Even the Penang daily *Kwong Wah Yit Poh* was told not to carry my Monday article, for reasons best known to them.

While these forces exist, naturally the atmosphere in this country is never stable, never truly calm. Whoever is our leader, he will have the unenviable task of tackling these people or problems created by them. As Shakespeare wrote, "Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown".

As I said before, I will not return to politics unless this country

is really in trouble, or my services are really needed to fight these enemies. My experiences have been bitter, but my fight against them had the support of the people in the early period of Independence.

After May 13, certain people decided that I must go, and now that they have taken over, the task ahead of them must not be to manoeuvre for position but to help Datuk Hussein Onn defend the nation against our enemies.

Now there are suggestions to form an alternate line-up which includes Datuk Harun, but to be honest I don't think the latter has any more time for politics after what he has had to go through. Datuk Harun was never in my grouping, but Khir Johari, Syed Ja'afar Albar and a few others were. But that's not of much or of immediate importance to the country. We must pool our resources and strength to meet the danger we all face. I don't want to talk about other groupings as they are not to my taste.

To be honest my group is really poor. Most of us are past the age of active politics but our loyalty and patriotism can never be surpassed. We made nothing in our time and less still in our retirement, not even a name.

While on this subject, I would like to recount here some acts of loyalty of my old Cabinet colleagues. One in particular concerned the late Tun Dr. Ismail. He came to me one day, confessing that he was poor and had nothing to leave behind for his family if anything were to happen to him. However much he wanted to serve the country, he must think of his family, so would I therefore permit him to leave and go into business. So he left and joined a well-known firm, and with the increased salary he was able to save some money.

When violence broke out on May 13 he returned, saying that he had given up his job to help me, and he did. I can never forget this gesture of loyalty and love for a friend.

It was the same with his elder brother, Datuk Suleiman, who died in service as our High Commissioner in Canberra. Though he was suffering from heart disease he would not leave because in his view the country needed him. He died standing up, as he was addressing a luncheon party in Australia.

His youngest brother, Datuk Yasin, was at one time Secretary-General of UMNO. All the three brothers were faithful and loyal to the core. If I had a few more such men around I would not hesitate taking up the call to return to politics even at my age.

The insinuation that I worked on intuition and not on scientific skill may have some truth in it but was not one hundred per cent true. The first Five-Year Plan and many other worthwhile projects with which we started the first few years of Independence were not all based on intuition.

The victories over the Communists and Soekarno's Confrontation could be attributed partly to intuition and partly to the help given by our allies, the Commonwealth forces.

One cannot depend solely on scientific know-how to lead a country with so many people of diverse racial origins. One must seek divine guidance to help us along on the path of justice and fair play. One fact stands out clearly, and that is, that it was God's will that the "contemptible old guards" headed by me, freed Malaya, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak from colonial rule.

Many young people naturally consider themselves better able to run the country — be it so, but the fact remains that age and wisdom still count. Even a blind man can sometimes have a vision. The tendency is to forget the past, and count out all those who had anything to do with it as "has-beens". Then they take all the credit for themselves.

A wise old politician looks at any matter well before he dares take a risk, but an impulsive young politician with an eye to publicity will throw caution to the winds. The two age-groups can work together if the object is to serve their country, and a new nation like Malaysia requires the help of all her sons — be they old or young.

A regional magazine suggested that Datuk Hussein Onn "will end up making a couple of concessions" to the group headed by me. One suggestion is that I can be "appointed adviser to a revamped National Security Council". This, it was suggested, would "blunt his (Tunku's) claims that his experience and wisdom have been ignored by his successors".

To be quite honest, I have never openly aired such a complaint, but on one occasion I did demur about the way I have been treated since my retirement. However, I have worked out my own salvation and I am content with my lot despite the efforts of the mass media to blot my name out from the memory of the public.

I repeat that I have no wish to line up against Datuk Hussein, but rather that I would like to be of help to him, and this goes without exception for those others who still look up to me. Of

course, in the situation we face today, advisory bodies would be useful to the Government in the economic, trade, business and political sectors. This could bring back confidence to the nation and might even encourage foreign investment.

In Britain the Privy Council is made up of the best legal, political and business brains whose services can be called upon to advise the Crown at any time on any given subject. The Privy Council's advice is sought not by the British only but by member countries of the Commonwealth, particularly on legal matters. We could set up such a body here to advise the Crown on economic and political matters, and members for this body could be drawn from experts in these fields.

An important question still remains in the minds of the people and that is, what is going to happen to this country? I am convinced nothing really serious will happen; it is as good a country as any in the world. In fact it is better than most.

One must travel abroad to know how lucky one is to be alive and living in a country like Malaysia. The weather may be warm but with all the scientific gadgets one can be as cool as the proverbial cucumber and as comfortable as one could wish to be in one's home.

The multi-racial population which Malaysia possesses is nothing new; it has been so for many generations past. The only difference is that the older generation have lived all their lives in this country and look to it as their home.

I remember the attire of the nyonyas and they still put up the best Malaysian cuisine, but alas their kebayas and the diamond cucuk sanguls have disappeared — even for weddings. No problem existed in those days, except of course that we were a colony and under the British rule and everybody had to fend for himself.

So there grew up a society with a wide gap of differences between the rich and the poor, but if these differences were confined to the same race of people the problem would have presented less difficulty. Unfortunately, however, the gap is between one race and another.

With Independence something was done to narrow this gap; but in my time it was not done on the basis of "robbing Peter to pay Paul". What we were able to do for the Malays was done without prejudice to the others, nor was it done with an eye to gaining popularity. Everything proceeded smoothly and

successfully.

The Malay masses had houses, small-holdings and their little businesses, but with the change of Government, drastic measures were introduced to bolster the Malay economy, and this to some extent has brought about a feeling of dissatisfaction to others and hatred for the Government.

On the other hand, if we look at things carefully we will find that insofar as the Malay masses are concerned, they have no more than what they had before, though a handful have become millionaires overnight.

Again, if we look at the business dominance and trade rights of the others, we find that they are still in absolute possession of their power. In a nutshell, weighing the pros and cons of it, everything remains as before.

Of course, there are people who will go round spreading discontent and these people come from both sides. It is in these cases one gets to hear stories of uneasiness and tension in the country, while in fact there is none.

If one walks the streets, goes into the bazaars, the cinemas, shops, clubs, sporting stadiums or race-tracks everything seems normal. People go about their business of the day without a care in the world; they appear so unconcerned, and I ask myself where is the so-called tension in the country?

It exists in the minds and imagination of the people because they have been influenced by tales and rumours spread by mischievous scandal-mongers and so without giving much thought they just accept these allegations as fact.

The Communists cannot take this country the way they did the Indochina Peninsula. The only means open to them is direct conquest, and this the world will never tolerate. To all and sundry I say, keep your heads and your eyes open. Your enemy in fact is "in your own mosquito-net".

To me, an old man in age, it seems as if Merdeka was only yesterday, and yet twenty years have come and gone. How time flies and before one knows where he is, he is an old man.

I can hardly believe that more than 20 years have come and gone since this country of ours achieved Independence. The Duke of Gloucester represented the Queen then; and he has also gone. Our first Yang Dipertuan Agung, who received the Instrument of Independence for Malaya, has passed away too, but his memory is perpetuated in our currency notes; therefore he is always

in our minds.

I remember that morning vividly. The day began with a heavy downpour. It was difficult to know how the celebrations could be held at the Stadium Merdeka that morning, if the rain continued.

As I sat on the balcony of the Residency, thinking despondently about the vagaries of the weather, a Taiwanese by the name of Dr. Lee, whom I met when I attended a conference in Hiroshima, made an unexpected appearance. I was surprised to see him, his presence placing me in a very awkward position as to know what to do with him, because he was an uninvited guest, being a rebel leader of the Taiwanese Revolutionary Movement that was trying to break away from the regime of Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek.

At that time we were on terms of friendship with Chiang Kai Shek, not with the People's Republic of China, and it would have been wrong for us to accept him.

Therefore I had to be frank, and tell him that for all the sympathy I had for his cause I could not start our Independence Day by committing a flagrant breach of diplomatic etiquette. A bad beginning could only bring about a bad ending.

I confessed that I was superstitious, and my intuition had paid dividends in the past. Therefore, in this world of confused thinking and political bickerings and turmoil, I must depend very much on my second nature. He understood and left me.

Slowly the rain dropped away, and just before I left for the Merdeka Stadium to attend the celebrations, the whole sky cleared. In between breaks in the clouds above there appeared a wonderful sign: the sun's rays gleamed like a star in the morning sky. It was an unusual phenomenon, and in my quiet way I gave thanks to God, praying that Merdeka Day would bring us all good luck.

There was no other new nation like ours anywhere in the world — a mixed population, ten years of insurrection on our hands and the complete dependence on the pro-British attitude of most of the immigrant races, which had made it almost too difficult to know how to start or where to begin the opening chapter of our history.

There was still a lot of mistrust and suspicion existing among the races, and also among the rank and file of the Civil Service. There were some Asian civil servants, who had joined the British

service, resigned with the British, and then demanded equal rights and treatment as retired British personnel.

Some British officers, however, stayed on to help us with the administration and security. With these initial problems on our hands, we began our march in search of a future.

The year 1960 gave us a ray of hope, for the Communists decided to give up their struggle and to withdraw to their prepared positions astride the Thai border. They had realised that our people of all races were becoming too contented with what they had. Development started in earnest in all fields of public and private endeavour. With peace, too, we were able to turn our attention especially to development to benefit the small man.

It has been said, and repeated again and again, that it was Tun Razak who started the First Five-Year Development Plan. It is immaterial to me who started it, so long as the people received the windfall. But for historical reasons, we must have the record right.

So it is with this in mind that I now say my piece, not with the object of belittling the efforts of Tun Razak, but rather of putting the record straight.

It was Encik Aziz Ishak, the Minister of Agriculture at the time, who proposed community development, patterned on that of India, and he was sent there to study the scheme. On his return, he was given the task of starting community development, but he failed to get the project off the ground.

So it was then with a policy of food for the poor, instead of bullets, clothing instead of uniforms, and housing instead of barracks, that the Government declared its intention to take the initiative and finance any development projects to be launched henceforth. The people could not be expected to take the initiative, as they lacked the ideas, the money and the know-how, and so it was that I appointed Tun Razak in place of Aziz Ishak.

In 1963 Malaysia was formed. Thereupon Soekarno started trouble, as I have recounted earlier. The extent to which we went in trying to appease the "devil" had no limits. He was intent on achieving what he wanted to do, that is "Crush Malaysia"

But with the united efforts of our people and with support from our Commonwealth friends, Britain, Australia and New Zealand, we managed to prevent Soekarno from carrying out any large-scale operations against us.

The infiltration of his men here and in East Malaysia was quickly, efficiently and effectively dealt with, and with that Confrontation frittered away. When Indonesian military forces crushed the Communists there, they deposed Soekarno. So for the second time Malaysia found peace, and with peace more developments were carried out, and we gained more friends at home and abroad. Indeed Malaysia could be said to be a promised land come true.

When I had declared that I would leave peacefully, giving way to my Deputy, Tun Razak, on the installation of the Sultan of Kedah as Agung, that was not good enough for some of these people; they wanted a dramatic take-over of Government. What was painful to me was that it should come from my associates and members of my own party. But their dreams of a take-over through force did not materialise.

The violence of May 13, 1969, was planned and engineered by the Communists. UMNO rebels took advantage of the situation to bring about my fall from grace. It was a damnable affair, and when it ended it left behind a trail of dead and wounded people of all races, and many saddened hearts to weep over the loss of their dear ones.

I give two main causes for the outbreak of violence on that May 13. I repeat:

(1) A Communist plot to create violence and cause embarrassment to the Government through an election boycott; and

(2) New UMNO leaders who wanted to seize the reins of Government through dramatic action.

We know enough of Communist attempts, after their defeat in 1960, to try and wreck this Government through violence and other disturbances. They could not succeed, but that did not deter them from continuing with their vicious plans to bring chaos to the country. For instance there was a *hartal* in Penang in 1968.

I have mentioned earlier that some UMNO leaders, holding important positions in the party and in the Government, have Communist affiliations. At the recent UMNO General Meeting some heated discussions took place on this subject, but the debate went no further than the meeting place.

The Communists were attempting to make a comeback, and to all intents and purposes they were making plenty of headway with their men around and among the top. Many in the mass

media were falling fast into their hands. They blatantly distorted historical facts in the leading newspapers to suit their political whims of the time.

Chapter Twenty-two

Fate of Fellow Muslims

The Chief Minister of Sabah, Datuk Harris Salleh, had official talks before the ASEAN summit last August with President Ferdinand Marcos in Manila on the Philippines' claim to Sabah and on the position of the Muslim political refugees in Sabah.

The Philippines' claim to Sabah was first brought up during the time of President Macapagal in the early 1960s, and it was done on behalf of the heirs of the Sultan of Sulu. I turned it down on the grounds that I could not answer for the people of Sabah, and for the same reason the Philippines President could not claim the State for somebody who did not enjoy the power or the sovereign status of a Sultan any more. In other words, I said how can a stateless nonentity claim a foreign State?

The transfer of Sabah could not give the heirs the sovereign rights over the State to enjoy and to rule in the name of the Philippines Government when he can no longer claim it for himself. It would only make Sabah a colony of the Christian State of the Philippines, whose tolerance in the freedom of religious worship has not been all that just.

I remember at the time of my visit to the Philippines I raised the question on the absence of a mosque in the capital of a nation with so many millions of Muslims and without a burial-ground to bury the Muslim dead.

According to traditional practice, the body of any Muslim who dies in Manila has to be brought back hundreds of miles for burial in the Muslim area of the South, or else the body has to be dumped into the sea.

At the request of Muslims, funds were raised to build a mosque in Manila, but permission was never granted. Only now, under President Marcos, has a Muslim Welfare Centre been built in Manila, a place where Muslims are allowed to gather and perform their prayers, but never was it consecrated or allowed to be called a mosque.

In such a situation, Sabah naturally would never have agreed

to join the Philippines.

In the Southern Philippines where the Muslims live, there are mosques and religious schools for Muslims, but there they have been invaded of late by the Christians, and this has been the cause of a rebellion which still continues in sporadic fighting.

Attempts have been made by Muslim countries, particularly Libya, to find a settlement, and, if possible, to create an autonomous State for the Muslims, but a ruse was employed whereby the decision had to be taken on a plebiscite.

This definitely would defeat all Muslim chances of getting their way, because their territory has been overrun by the Christians, who have been brought in with the help of the Christian religious movement to swamp the Muslims. Those who were able to vote have withdrawn into the jungle to carry on the fight for a Muslim State, and in fact for their very survival itself. So a plebiscite would favour the Christians, and naturally the result would have been obvious — there could never be agreement on Home Rule for Muslims in the South.

America has set a good example where each State has autonomy to run its own Government for the benefit of the people of the State, and this they have done without resorting to any plebiscite.

Why could not the same system be adopted in the Southern States of the Philippines? If the people, while remaining nationals of the Philippines, could have a say in the administration of their own affairs, they would be much the happier for it.

On the question of the refugees, there are nearly 90,000 Muslim refugees in Sabah seeking protection and shelter from political injustices in the Philippines. They are given help by the Muslim people, and in particular by the Libyan Religious Affairs Department.

When I was Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat of Foreign Ministers in Jeddah, I too collected many hundreds of thousands of dollars to provide for these refugees, without which they would have lived in utter misery and squalor as refugees in a foreign land.

Tun Mustapha went out of his way to help them, without caring how much he spent to alleviate their sufferings. They are slowly becoming assimilated with the rest of the population of Sabah, many of whom are themselves descendants of people from the Southern Philippine islands.

Tun Mustapha himself is a descendant of a Sulu Chief and his wife, Toh Puan Rahmah, is a Filipino by birth and a relative of his.

It is my hope that in his discussion with President Marcos, the Chief Minister, Datuk Harris Salleh, did not commit himself by agreeing to close the door of Sabah to more refugees from the Philippines, less still agree to send the Filipino political refugees back to the Philippines, because if he did so their fate would be sealed.

While this struggle for survival of the Muslims in the Philippines is still going on, it must be expected that they would hope to find refuge somewhere, for no man can go on struggling under such adverse conditions for many, many years. Sometime, sooner or later, their spirit must crack, and to save their lives and souls they must find freedom, and the only place where these Filipino Muslims could go to, would be Sabah.

There is a report that Indonesia and Malaysia are being asked to refuse sanctuary and political asylum to these people. In the name of God and on humanitarian grounds they must not agree to it.

Some other solution to this human problem must be found without damaging their relationship with the Philippines. These countries are in ASEAN, and should bring themselves together to discuss this problem of a Muslim minority fairly and squarely, without fear or favour. Surely, there are many other ways and means to bring peace to these troubled people other than to shoot, bomb and deny them their survival.

The Muslims had their first trouble against the Spaniards, and for 500 years they have waged a ceaseless war to save themselves from being forcibly converted to Christianity under the cruel Spanish Inquisition. The only peace they had, as history can record, was when they were under American rule. Now when they hope to enjoy peace and freedom as the people of independent Philippines they have a worse time under "the new inquisition".

The Chief Minister Datuk Harris Salleh would have had little chance of meeting with any of these people, for he will be entertained and feted by his hosts. I hope he had the chance to find out more about the fate of the many millions of his fellow-Muslims in the South. I hope, too, he was able to offer some concrete advice which might receive the favourable consideration

of President Marcos and thus help to alleviate the sufferings of these unfortunate people. Whatever it is, I wonder, what it was that took him to the Philippines? Did he go there on his own, or did he go on orders or at the behest of the Malaysian Government?

If it was the Government of Malaysia who sent him there, then whatever he said would bind the Malaysian Government. Therefore the Malaysian Government should have issued a report on what has gone on between Datuk Harris, the Chief Minister of Sabah, and President Marcos of the Philippines.

If he had gone on his own initiative it was obvious he had no authority or right to speak on behalf of the Malaysian Government, or even for the people of Sabah, because a Chief Minister is only an official of a State and has no power to discuss matters with foreign powers outside the confines of the State's boundary. I am sure the Constitution of the State, drafted in my time, gives no power to the Chief Minister to act on his own with any foreign power.

In fact, before a Chief Minister, Minister or Governor of any State leaves Malaysia for a journey abroad, he must first obtain the permission of the Government of Malaysia. The power to decide on all matters pertaining to foreign relations rests solely with the Government of Malaysia.

I remember on one occasion when Tun Mustapha came to see me with a request to go for medical attention to England. I asked him what was wrong, and he said he had an in-grown toe nail. So I directed him to go immediately to our General Hospital in Jalan Pahang and to forget all about England, and he did so in a huff.

One can see what the situation would be like in this country if Chief Ministers, Menteris Besar and Governors were allowed to go out of the country on their own to discuss matters connected with our foreign policy and other such matters not within their power or authority to discuss with foreign countries.

This would lead to the disintegration of powers within the country, and the ultimate effect would be a slow and complete disruption of the administration. No person in authority in the States should be allowed to go outside the country, whatever may be the nature of his or their business, unless he or they have first obtained the permission of the Government in writing.

It might just be possible for the five ASEAN nations at their

regular meetings to take stock of the fighting that has been going on for so many years in South Philippines between the Government forces on the one hand and the Muslims on the other. The Philippines Government ought to welcome any suggestion from the four partners, which can bring an end to this internecine warfare which has taken toll of life and limb of people of the same race but of different creeds, bearing in mind it is no fault for a person to be born black, blue, white or yellow and of a different faith, so long as he is happy to live a peaceful life and is given equal and fair treatment.

Religions are created by God to bring peace and human dignity to man, and the Muslim religion is one which creates a brotherhood, which is deep-seated and strongly-embedded in their bodies and souls. Why should the Government of the Philippines deny these people their right as citizens of their country the full liberty to worship and practice their religion?

The time when religious warfare existed is long past and gone. Today the need for men to live in peace and understanding and with the best of goodwill for one another is so very great, in particular in this region of Asia where forces which recognise no God threaten a take-over of Southeast Asia and of the world itself.

The purpose of the ASEAN countries in getting together "to promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries of the region and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter" would indicate respect for human rights, and the plight of the Muslims in the Philippines deserves the attention of these five nations, two of these being Muslim nations. Therefore it would not be out of place for the plight of the Muslims in the Philippines to be brought up for consideration.

The other declaration made in Bangkok which is "to promote active collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interest in the economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific and administrative fields; to provide assistance to each other in the form of training and research facilities in the educational, professional, technical and administrative spheres" are all plausible objectives and they should be followed up vigorously.

In Bali it was decided to establish the ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta in an effort to further strengthen ASEAN determination to gain these objectives.

With such a foundation well and truly laid ASEAN should make progress, and it is our prayer that ASEAN efforts will show results. So far it has existed only in the mind and in name.

For the opening of ASA (Association of Southeast Asia), the forerunner of ASEAN, the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya (that was myself), the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines Mr. Felixberto M. Serrano and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Thailand, Mr. Thanat Khoman met on July 31 and August 1, 1961, to consider the formation of ASA for economic and cultural co-operation among Southeast Asian countries.

There was great ambition in the minds of all of us present then to begin a common market for the small countries of Southeast Asia, but unfortunately, however, that objective never materialised because of the many difficulties that beset our paths.

However, with constant talk, discussions and planning, ASA helped to bring the countries closer together, if not for any specific reason. At least they began to know one another better. From this humble beginning Indonesia and Singapore joined in 1967, and this organisation became known as ASEAN.

Chapter Twenty-three

Mustapha

In 1977, newspapers reported that the former Chief Minister of Sabah, Tun Datu Haji Mustapha, was expected to step down as the President of the United Sabah National Organisation at a special meeting of the party. The report quoted sources as saying that Tun Datu Mustapha, 59, who was also leader of the United Sabah Islamic Association and deputy president of the Malaysian Muslim Welfare Association (PERKIM), wanted to retire from active politics to devote his time to missionary work.

"In late 1976, he stepped down as president of USNO, the party he founded in 1961. His resignation came after the party's defeat by Berjaya in the State election. But he was re-drafted when the USNO General Assembly elected him unopposed in May this year".

The report also said Tun Datu Mustapha was expected to remain the State Assemblyman for Banggi and the MP for the Marudu seat. The sources quoted in the report said that Tan Sri Said Keruak, USNO Deputy President, was likely to be Acting President until the next party elections in 1979.

"Tan Sri Said, 51, a former Chief Minister, was also chosen Acting President last year after Tun Datu Mustapha stepped down. He is the State Assemblyman for Usukan and also represents the Kota Belud constituency in the Dewan Rakyat," the report said.

But these reports turned out to be wrong. Tun Mustapha saw me on his return from London and told me that there was an attempt in certain quarters to oust him from USNO, the party which he formed. After he resigned in 1976, he said he was asked to return as its head and he did so only to save his party. If he did not, USNO would have to be dissolved and in its place another party would have to be formed to take over the functions of USNO, which held power all those years until its defeat in 1976.

To force anybody else into Tun Mustapha's place, who does

not have the confidence of party members, would invite disaster, for no man can provide leadership in a party unless he can exude confidence to party members and others who support the party.

Tan Sri Said Keruak is not forceful enough to give the party that confidence. Unless Tun Mustapha accepts the leadership of USNO and is given full support by the members, then USNO might as well be dissolved. USNO was Tun Mustapha's baby, and it has given him fame and position in bringing Independence to Sabah within Malaysia.

Before that the State had not been heard of, except as a British colony under the name of British North Borneo. The only people who worked the timber industry were the British North Borneo Company. Now, in addition to this company, many new timber concessions have been made to important political leaders and big businessman.

Sabah has become rich as the biggest timber-producing State in Malaysia. Everyone and anyone who counts in Sabah has been given logging rights. Whichever party runs the Government, therefore, is said to be in the big money.

Tun Mustapha was the first Govenor; and the late Tun Fuad Stephens of UPKO was the first Chief Minister. USNO and UPKO were Sabah's two most powerful political parties in the State. The alliance of these two political parties with the Sabah Chinese Association later formed the Government which ran the State for 15 years. Under these parties, Sabah joined Malaysia and it has come a long way since; development is much in evidence.

There have been many ups and downs in State politics, but this is only to be expected. So it was that USNO suffered its first defeat at the hands of the break-away members of USNO and UPKO who formed Berjaya, led by the late Tun Fuad and Datuk Harris Salleh, the present Chief Minister.

However, USNO has had very good innings as the party in power. The fall at the 1976 election brought bad luck. Many members left to join Berjaya. Tun Mustapha and a few friends remained behind to mend broken fences, but there were more defections by USNO leaders. It was suggested at one time that perhaps USNO might change its character by bringing in new leaders with new names, but no new leaders dared to come forward. Firstly, it required money to rebuild USNO, and secondly, it required courage to stand up against the new Government.

Datuk Harris who took over from the late Tun Fuad, began his rule with a vengeance, according to Tun Mustapha, who said that he was the first to come under the axe. For instance, he told me, he was asked to pay back $9,000,000 in expenses incurred on his journeys abroad when he was Chief Minister.

There were many other payments which he was asked to disclose and make good, he said, such as the special fund approved by the Federal Government for use in the special services, particularly in connection with the rehabilitation of refugees. He was also asked to pay for the cost of the monument which the Sabah Government erected in my honour.

I was also informed that the people employed by the Padi Board, the Land Development Board, and native chiefs appointed by Tun Mustapha were dismissed and their places taken over by new appointees chosen by the Government of Datuk Harris Salleh. This clean-up of the old employees was done perhaps to ensure loyalty to the new party or as a reprisal for their loyalty to Tun.

Now Tun Mustapha has been asked to come back to take over the leadership of USNO and offer resistance to Berjaya as an effective opposition. The report I quoted earlier about his resignation, obviously has as the source the opponents of Tun.

But Tun Mustapha had no such intention and he remains leader of USNO. There is nothing more for me to add except to urge USNO members to give Tun Mustapha their support, and to urge Tun Mustapha to give more time and attention to the party if USNO is to regain its former strength as the premier party.

After all, Berjaya was elected by only a narrow majority. USNO members could have stood together as one force in opposition, but it did not work out that way. Some rich members panicked and left to join the Government party. This was unfortunate, and showed immaturity among the politicians of Sabah.

Sabah politicians never have had the opportunity to experience the aching pains of politics, its ups-and-downs and other political upsets, because they have always had one-party rule and, in addition, they look upon politics as a profitable business.

Perhaps all that has happened in Sabah is for the people's good, and it might bring about a new awakening in political consciousness, and a sense of responsibility among politicians.

It is necessary for the State Government to run the State smoothly, and the lead must be set by those in power.

Tun Mustapha has confessed to me his failings. But, at the same time, he has his strong points. According to him, he is old enough to know what is good and what is bad for the State. His decision to remain USNO leader augurs well for USNO. Time will tell whether he will carry out his promises.

At the party General Assembly in 1977, he did not accept the party leadership because he wanted to think it over. Since then, he has had plenty of time. After much thought he has decided to accept the appointment, and is prepared to do-or-die for the party.

The report I mentioned appeared to suggest that there were people working to get rid of Tun Mustapha as USNO leader and get him to devote his time to Muslim welfare work. In other words, get him out of USNO and out of politics.

In connection with Muslim work, however, he has done much more than any man in the Muslim world. His untiring efforts brought many thousands of converts to Islam, which has incurred the displeasure of those of other religions.

Many people worked to bring about his downfall and they succeeded. To some extent he has helped them by not giving their subversive and underhand activities enough attention while they were building up against him in the election year. When he realised it, it was too late. Now all the forces opposed to him are arraigned against him.

Nevertheless, to suggest that someone other than Tun Mustapha should take over USNO leadership is ill-conceived. If other leaders have to be found to replace him, then some new political party other than USNO will have to be formed to accommodate these new leaders.

USNO means Tun Mustapha — and Tun Mustapha *is* USNO.

In his heyday, Tun Mustapha was a pillar of strength to UMNO. It must be remembered that he gave much help to the party. In substance he gave a few million dollars towards UMNO's election expenses in Tun Razak's time, and in service he actively participated in the states' election campaign in Peninsular Malaysia.

Now that he has fallen on bad days, members of UMNO cannot just forget and ignore him. I would expect them to show at least some sympathy for him, if nothing more.

Chapter Twenty-four

The Non-Aligned Bloc

It must have been a big disappointment for Datuk Hussein Onn, the Prime Minister, and Tengku Rithauddeen, the Foreign Minister of Malaysia to have come away from the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Colombo in August 1976 without having been heard. The Afro-Asian group made no secret of their partiality towards the Communist camp. Their behavior and utterances in the past have made this evident. Therefore the stand they took on the proposal for a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in Southeast Asia was not unexpected. It was said somewhere, too, that Tengku Rithauddeen was never allowed to clarify his stand on the neutrality issue, and that this was unjust and unfair.

He was asked to give way to the representative of Laos, who showed little sympathy for Malaysia, though the point Tengku Rithauddeen was attempting to make was of importance to the conference itself.

Malaysia's case for a neutrality zone in Southeast Asia had the backing of the ASEAN countries and most other democratic nations. This objective had been repeatedly stated and declared over the past few years, at least since Tun Razak became Prime Minister in 1970.

One would think that the so-called Non-Aligned Nations would have welcomed the proposal. Being small and weak themselves, only through neutrality can they maintain their freedom. As a matter of fact, their attitude was rather to be expected because this Afro-Asian body, which goes under the guise of being non-aligned, is in fact a Communist satellite organisation.

When I was Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat, I noticed in Algeria that the representative of Cambodia, at a time when Prince Sihanouk was in exile, was a Sihanouk man. Only North Korea and North Vietnam were recognised, having diplomatic relations with Algeria, while South Korea

and South Vietnam were not represented. How in the name of all the Holy of Holies can we pretend to accept an organisation such as this to pass as non-aligned? Call a spade a spade!

Therefore, it was for this reason when I was Prime Minister that I refused to join the organisation. I demanded to be heard only when President Soekarno condemned us as a 'neo-colonialist state' and enlisted the support of Communist satellites for his aggressive acts and intentions against us.

As it so happened, that conference never took place. The meeting hall, as yet unfinished, was blown up in a coup d'etat started in the capital of Algeria. At that time, 1964, I was attending the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London.

When the news came through as to what had happened, we were in conference. I asked for permission to leave and hold a caucus among the leaders of the Non-Aligned Group, who were at the time about ready to leave for Algeria. Among them were Ayub Khan of Pakistan, Nkrumah of Ghana and Sastri, of India. I persuaded them not to go, and they all agreed, and so the "Summit" was never held.

I thought to myself then that this was truly an act of God and a lesson to be gained by new countries, but for Malaysia it was a blessing. We were definitely not wanted, and Soekarno and his Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio had seen to it that we would at no time be allowed entry into this group.

Many countries in the Non-Aligned Group were in fact against everyone except the Communists. All their thinking was in line with Communist ideology.

Where do we come in among these people, and what can we expect from them? If it is not possibe to make our views heard, then no useful purpose can be served by remaining in this group.

It may not be remembered by many today but this Afro-Asian Non-Aligned Group actually started in Bandung in 1955. At that time, not so many countries were independent, so the group was small, but the Conference itself was considered to be a great success.

It gave a definite shot in the arm to those countries, which were then working for independence, such as ourselves, or fighting for independence, like Algeria, as the Bundung Declaration demanded freedom for all races.

Since Malaysia's Independence there has not been another conference like the Bandung Conference. Then came the formation of Malaysia, and Soekarno's Confrontation with his "Crush Malaysia" policy.

Being unsuccessful in his attempt to do much against us, he then hit upon the idea of calling another conference in 1964. The whole object of this one was to enlist the support of other countries for his rabid ideas against "neo-colonialism", quoting Malaysia as an example. Just then Algeria gained her independence from France and President Ben Bella was persuaded to hold the Conference in his country.

We foresaw what Soekarno's move would be, so we sent ahead members of our Foreign Ministry staff, with Encik Hashim Sultan as leader (at the time of writing Datuk Hashim Sultan is Malaysian Ambassador to China), to go to Algeria and set up a diplomatic mission there. We were firmly convinced that Algeria would remember the support we gave her when she was fighting for her independence.

Malaysia was one of the countries whose people were encouraged to collect funds and send the money through the Office of the Algerian representative stationed in Indonesia and Malaysia, then led by Mr. Brahimi, later the Algerian Ambassador in London.

If I remember correctly, Encik Ghaffar Baba was the head of the organisation (Jawatan Kuasa Membantu Kemerdekaan Algeria) formed to support Algeria's cause. Quite large sums of money were collected, and Mr. Brahimi was constantly in touch with me in Kuala Lumpur. At that time he was naturally profusely grateful for all the help we gave to his country. We thought, therefore, we would encounter no trouble in establishing a diplomatic mission in Algeria, but unfortunately it was not to be so. All that was forgotten.

Our representative, Hashim Sultan, arrived a month before the conference was due to begin, and made every effort to try and approach officials of the Algerian Foreign Office without avail. Nobody saw him, or made any attempt to talk matters over with him. He and his officers would hang around, waiting for interviews which never took place; even Mr. Brahimi had no time for them.

We had arranged to send Tun Dr. Ismail to represent Malaysia at the Conference in Algeria. As the date of the

Conference drew near, the delegates began to arrive, but two days before the Conference was due to begin the hall was blown up in a coup to oust President Ben Bella of Algeria. Then trouble started, and there was no possibility of holding the Conference at all.

A message was passed to Tun Dr. Ismail not to proceed to Algeria, and our Ambassador in Paris was notified to inform him accordingly, should he arrive in Paris ahead of advice. Instead, he was asked to come straight to London, where I was.

Hashim Sultan and the others were also asked to meet me in London to make their report. To be honest, I was never so happy to see the failure of a conference, the objective of which was to condemn Malaysia. So I said "God is great"; and indeed He was.

A conference with such bad intentions should never have been allowed to succeed. Our mission, intended for Algeria, finally went to Morocco, with whom we have had happy relations to this day.

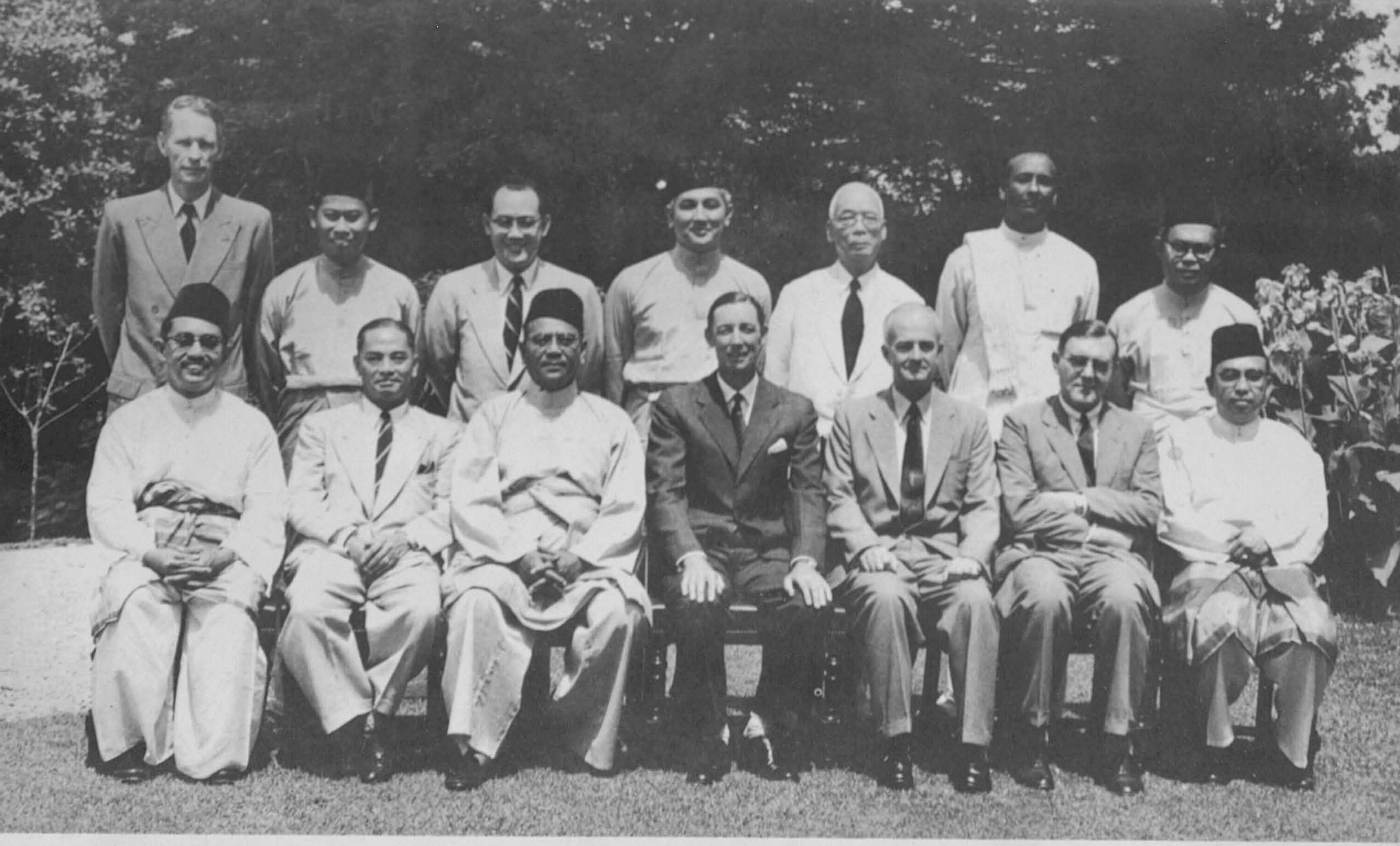
The politics of the Non-Aligned Group have crept into sports, as was well seen in the last Olympic Games in Montreal; now it has shown its ugly head in football during the last Asian Football Confederation in Kuala Lumpur. I have been the President of the Asian Football Confederation for 18 years, and never have I witnessed such a tremendous change as that which has taken place recently. Today we deal less with football and more with politics. Tomorrow we may have little to do with football, and everything to do with politics: that will be a sad day indeed.

In the old days we met in an atmosphere of great cordiality, but today, at this last Congress in Kuala Lumpur, the representatives hardly spoke to each other. Everyone seemed to be suspicious of one another; as President on that occasion I never felt so embarrassed in all my experience of football in Asia.

In my speech I laid stress on the fact that our duty was to serve football. This was the task we undertook and the pledge we gave to those who elected us as representatives to this Congress.

Unfortunately my words fell on deaf ears. Politics appears to have taken a hold on football. What it is going to be like tomorrow, God only knows, but one thing I can say, this is my last

term in office as President of the Asian Football Confederation, a term which ends in 1978. I shall be sorry for those who remain behind, and for football in Asia.



The pre-independence Federal Executive Council (1955 — 1957).



Tunku Abdul Rahman alongside the last British High Commissioner Sir Donald MacGillivray, the first Yang Dipertuan Agung and the Raja Permaisuri Agung.



Hauling down the Union Jack, August 31 1957.





Tunku Abdul Rahman proclaiming Malaya's Independence August 31, 1957.



From left to right — David Marshall, then Chief Minister of Singapore, Tunku Abdul Rahman, then Chief Minister of Malaya and MCA founder Sir Cheng-lock Tan at the Baling Talks 1955 with Communist Party leader Chin Peng.



Malaysian Communist Party leader Chin Peng (centre) with his two chief aides.



Tunku Abdul Rahman with his Cabinet and the fourth Yang Dipertuan Agung.



Tunku Abdul Rahman with former Chief Minister of Sabah, Tun Mustapha, former Finance Minister of Malaysia, Tun Tan Siew Sin and former Cabinet Ministers Tun Sambanthan, Tan Sri Omar Ong and Mohamad Khir Johari.



Tunku Abdul Rahman with HRH the Sultan of Selangor in London. Flanking them are Malaysian High Commissioner Datuk Abdullah Ali and Tun Mustapha of Sabah.



Tunku Abdul Rahman with the Thai King and Queen — at extreme left is former Prime Minister Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn.



Tunku Abdul Rahman addressing the Commonwealth Prime Ministers at a Banquet in London. .



Tunku Abdul Rahman receiving the Freedom of the City of London from the Lord Mayor at Guildhall.



The Prime Minister Datuk Hussein Onn welcoming Tunku Abdul Rahman to the UMNO General Assembly Meeting in 1977.

Chapter Twenty-five

Muslim Unity

When I left Office as Prime Minister in 1970 I made my farewell speech at the General Assembly of UMNO. Quoting from *Aladdin and His Wonderful Lamp* I told them to beware of anyone who wished to exchange the good old magic lamp for a new one, bright and shining. Some giggled aloud, some thought I was "nutty", but they all said to themselves, "We know our business; the time has come for a change of leadership". A new leader would take over, and no one was more ready and prepared for this role than Tun Abdul Razak, my Deputy for eighteen years.

But several opportunists could not wait for the changeover to arrive quickly enough; they were in such a great hurry. While the "Old Man" remained, the opportunity would not come their way, at least not so soon. He must go. That was decided soon after the 1969 elections and the violence of May 13.

My party, the Alliance, lost heavily in Chinese constituencies in Penang, Ipoh and Kuala Lumpur. I myself won in Alor Star with a slim majority over an unknown opponent; if it had not been for the votes from Langkawi, I might have lost altogether. What better evidence was there to prove that the people of Malaysia were losing patience with me.

I realised all along the feelings of the people, because they had thought aloud, but I was not giving up until the appropriate moment arrived. To leave just as they wanted me to do would be giving in to my enemies, and that would be a cowardly way out. That I was not prepared to do.

I realised too, that I had been Prime Minister for a long time. In fact, no man that I know of had stayed in office as elected Prime Minister for as long, and a change was due. But one thing must also be remembered: the choice lay with members of UMNO.

Not once in my life have I lobbied for votes or position. I always left the choice entirely to UMNO members; they alone

were free to decide whom they wanted as their leader. In fact, as Chairman I rarely took part in UMNO proceedings. At our meetings, those responsible were called upon to reply to any matter raised. When every man had said his piece, I would wind up — the longest time I have ever taken to close a meeting was eight minutes, and then only to thank members for having come a long way to attend the meeting and for giving up so much of their valuable time for UMNO. They went back happy.

After UMNO General Meetings, there was always a dinner at my house. If asked to prepare food for 700, I would prepare for 1,500, because invariably double the expected number would turn up. It was hard to stop them, because all would say they were my friends. I am happy to be able to recall that there was always sufficient food, or at least rice for all.

But the real source of happiness was the *esprit de corps* among all Alliance members, not only of UMNO but also of both the MCA and the MIC. Alliance Party meetings were held once a year, but as far as the members were concerned it was enough. Now all this appears to have changed. The Alliance of UMNO, MCA and MIC, the magic lamp, has disappeared, and in its place is the Barisan Nasional. Is this the new lamp?

I left Office quietly and gracefully, but with a feeling of being unwanted. However, the Government was kind enough to give me a gratuity of $200,000, and with this money I bought the house where I now live in Penang.

I was also given a pension of $4,000, which I never saw, as it was set off against payment of income tax, which this money helped to push up. I also received a motor-car, servants and clerical staff, and a police bodyguard, Encik Samad Mokhtar, plus a house in Kuala Lumpur in which to live. These were given in appreciation of my twenty years of service as leader of the Party and Prime Minister of Malaysia. I was happy and contented.

In the meantime I took up an appointment as Secretary-General of the Conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers in Jeddah. His Majesty King Feisal ibni Abdul Aziz gave me a grand and friendly reception there with a palace in which to live and work. It was luxuriously furnished with wall-to-wall carpeting and televisions in every one of its spacious rooms. There I found a new life amidst new surroundings and friendly

strangers, taking on a job that had never been done before.

I had to organise Muslim unity by establishing a headquarters for the purpose. To some, this may sound simple, but in fact it was the most formidable and difficult task ever to be undertaken by any one man. I understood then why it had never been tackled before.

The Arab countries are suspicious of one another; each one with great wealth or potential strength wants to be the top nation. So when the Secretariat was established in Jeddah, many suspected King Feisal's good intentions. There was no doubt at all that the success of such an organisation would bring him fame and great prestige; some nations did not welcome this prospect.

There were seven of us from Malaysia — Datuk Ali Abdullah, Permanent Secretary; Omardin A. Wahab, Political Secretary; Abdul Razak Hussein, Assistant Secretary; S.A. Lim, Finance Officer; Yunus, Chief Clerk; Redzuan Aminuddin, Correspondence Clerk, and S.H. Jamalullil, my Private Secretary. Later on, Tan Sri Aziz Zain took over from Ali Abdullah, and Omar Lim also joined the Secretariat, replacing Omardin.

I conceived my idea of having an Islamic Secretariat as far back as 1961. The first Conference of Islamic Nations was held in Kuala Lumpur in 1969 to discuss religious issues. The next Conference of Heads of State was held at Rabat in Morocco in 1969 to condemn the sacrilege committed on the Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. It was at this Conference that a decision was taken to set up a Muslim Secretariat for the Conference of Foreign Ministers.

In 1970 His Majesty King Feisal came on a State Visit to Malaysia, but his real purpose was revealed only two days before he returned home.

"Tunku", he said to me, "I would like you to take on this task of organising Islamic unity."

I told His Majesty that I was hardly the right person for the job because I like life — I enjoy horse-racing and card games now and then.

"I know", he said, "but I am not asking you to be the Imam of Islam, only to ask you to help organise Muslim unity."

That's how I took up the post of Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat of Foreign Ministers. I repeat, the job was hard, harder than it was to organise UMNO.

Three years of hard work and perseverance have brought in forty Muslim nations as members. When it was established I persuaded His Majesty to agree to set up an Islamic Development Bank, otherwise the Association without the inducement necessary to bind the members together would be meaningless and valueless. So it was — I left the Secretariat to organise the Bank.

All the poorer brothers acclaimed it as the greatest achievement, but in the country itself there appeared to be some resentment to the plan, the grounds being that Arab money should not be used for the benefit of others.

It was the King who forced the measure through and on December 15, 1973, the first meeting of Finance Ministers of the Islamic Conference took place in Jeddah where the Declaration of Intent was signed.

After the assassin's bullets had found their mark, the good and great King died. The assassin gave as reason for his dastardly crime, "Because he spent too much money on religion." King Feisal, therefore, died a true martyr to the cause of Islam. He had done more than anyone in modern times to advance the religion of Islam. He had established Rabita to attend to religious matters throughout the world with substantial financial backing for religious purposes and works.

It was he who completed the London Mosque, which had been in abeyance for fifty years. It was he who helped establish the Muslim Council of Europe; and it was he who founded the Islamic Secretariat of Foreign Ministers and the Islamic Development Bank. Without doubt, he was the greatest Muslim of his day. It was an honour and a pleasure for me to serve him, and through him the cause of Islam.

It was a crying shame that such a noble and worthy project as the Development Bank, should have faced insurmountable obstacles at the start. First it was difficult to persuade my successor, the Secretary-General, Mr. Hassan El Tohamy, that politics should not come into the Bank's affairs. The Bank should be impartial in both character and operation. A few countries joined him in his attempt to take over the Bank as a branch of the Secretariat. I fought him and won.

I had to travel far and wide, from country to country, to obtain money to help finance the Bank. I had to use my best endeavours and diplomatic tact to persuade them to join in

for the good of Islam. I had to convince them that the money invested in that Bank would not be lost. It would be a good investment, for, though the Bank does not charge any interest, it charges service fees which can be counted as profit.

When it was finally agreed to establish the Bank, I was given the task to head the Preparatory Committee to prepare its Charter and all the necessary arrangements for its formation. Dr. Meenai, the present Secretary, was my Secretary; the others were Dr. Rais Saniman, Dr. Ahmad Nagger, Dr. Tawfik Shawi, Tan Sri Abdul Aziz Zain and Encik Mohamed Noor bin Rahim.

We also obtained the help and advice of experts from the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank. We established our Headquarters in Kuala Lumpur to get the Bank under way. Our work was completed in good time, and we presented a Charter to the Conference of Finance Ministers in Jeddah on August 12, 1974, when and where it was further processed and approved with only a few amendments.

After that, Saudi Arabia decided to take over the Bank as they were the principal subscriber-nation — so maintained the Deputy Finance Minister of Saudi Arabia, Sheikh Mohamed Abu-Al-Khalil. Now the whole Muslim world is anxiously waiting for the Bank to operate. Dr. Ahmad Mohamed Ali, its present Governor, is still going round the Muslim world trying to collect capital funds. It is hard work, and I am glad to have been saved this merciless and thankless task. It is hoped that the Bank will soon commence operations. It can never be too soon, because so many are queuing up for loans.

Chapter Twenty-six

Islam & Perkim

Islam is the official religion of Malaysia, the Constitution of which declares that other religions shall also be free to carry on. In this modern world of ours, one where events are disturbing the peace of mind of God-fearing people, religion comes in as a happy relief.

Today devout people, when in trouble, seek the help of their God in many forms, but for Muslims these forms are all set out. The number of times we seek solace in prayers in a day is also fixed, being five times for compulsory prayers but any number of voluntary prayers in one day. But alas! not even one per cent of the Muslims themselves answer the call to prayer.

One of the dangers faced by human beings is the atomic weapon, the release of which will destroy every human being on God's earth. So peace is necessary among men, and religion is one of the ways which can ensure peace. The times when religion fought religion are past; the dangers which all religions, as well as all mankind, face today are too glaringly serious to be ignored. In addition, we have a force that has come into this world with the avowed aim of destroying all faith in God and enslaving men, possessing their souls and breaking their spirit.

Man's concept of civilisation has shown disregard for belief in God and has made a mockery of tradition and good moral behaviour. Faced with this new breed of human parasites who bleed our society, it is therefore necessary for man to cast his mind on a Saviour. There can be no more prophets now in this world, for the Holy Quran says that Mohammad is the last of the Prophets, but what all the prophets have taught men in the past can still be our guide today in the cause of peace.

True, there are many religions, but of all these the strongest is admittedly Islam, because it disregards and transcends the barriers of race and colour. Every Muslim is a brother to another. Islam sets out the drill which Muslims have to follow.

Prayers will bring a Muslim nearer to God and keep him continually reminded of the need to do good and to ask for forgiveness for anything which he thinks he might have done wrong during the day. He is compelled to serve his fellow-men by making payments of *Zakat* and *Fitrah*. This was so even before the idea of taxes was conceived, and the scheme survives to this day despite new taxes introduced by governments.

Then, to understand what it means to be hungry, a Muslim must starve himself during the fasting month, and he must visit the Holy City once in his lifetime in the performance of which he can see for himself what those who have gone before him have done in honour of the founder of Islam. In the Holy City he gives thanks and glorifies Allah.

The end of the world is part of the Muslim faith, and all will be brought to answer for what they have done — both the good and the bad. Now with the introduction of destructive weapons, the hydrogen and atomic bombs, and whatever other bombs that will come on the scene in future years, and faced with the anti-God and other forces of evil, we do not doubt that the signs indicate clearly that the end of the world must come one day.

Perkim is working for the welfare of those who embrace Islam by providing them with hope and comfort and lessons in the creed of Islam. Perkim looks after the rehabilitation of drug addicts, and also takes care of refugees who are forced to flee their homes. Our duty is to provide happiness to unfortunate people and progressively to propagate the teachings of Islam so that these should be understood.

We have a five-year plan that is now being looked into by a committee. Whatever items are good must be implemented in the quickest possible time. It is also planned to have a housing scheme for members of Perkim and our newly-converted brothers. For this purpose a co-operative society has been formed to take this matter up in Kuala Lumpur and get it going.

What I am really proposing to do, if our plan succeeds, is to ask the Government to recognise the converts as Muslims and to give them the same privileges as those enjoyed by the Malays. Until this is done not many of them will embrace Islam.

The largest number of converts is in the State of Sabah. This is due to the untiring efforts of Tun Mustapha, who built

up USIA (United Sabah Islamic Association) and helped finance it, and through his good work many thousands have become Muslims. I can say without fear of contradiction that no-one in the world has brought more converts into the Islamic faith than Tun Mustapha, and no-one else has done as much for the cause of the religion of Islam as Tun Mustapha.

When Perkim was finding it difficult to carry on with its work because of lack of funds, I had no one to go to for help except Tun Mustapha, and without hesitation he gave us a loan of six million dollars to build the Perkim Complex in Kuala Lumpur.

Now the Complex is about to go up, and we hope by the end of the year the first phase of its four-storey podium will be completed. And if we are lucky enough to get the money agreed to by the Libyan Government, we can continue simultaneously to build the second phase — the twenty-four-storey tower block. The income which we expect to collect from this Complex will be sufficient to pay for Perkim's expenses.

The next step we are proposing is to have a meeting in Kuala Lumpur, where we expect to invite observers from all the Muslim countries in Asia. Then when we have interested them sufficiently, we hope that an Islamic *Dakwah* body will be formed, undertaken by a country rich enough to do so — Saudi Arabia, for instance, because it has shown much interest in this matter.

Dakwah Islam is contained in the Charter of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers. Unfortunately it was not set up at the time when I was in the Secretariat, and after I had left it remained just a policy. So I feel this is something I have left undone, and I would like to get others interested in it now so that a country that can afford to do so can start it, as this is essential work.

Another essential work was our efforts towards helping the unfortunate refugees of the Indochina War. Perkim officials interviewed a few scores of them and went about bringing them from Thailand, where these people were then in camps. Most were from Cambodia.

I immediately contacted the Minister for Home Affairs, Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie, who gave permission for Datuk Ahmad Nordin and two representatives from the Home Ministry to visit the camps and make immediate arrangements for them to come to Malaysia, even though on November 16, 1975 he had

declared in Parliament that "the Government regards all refugees from Vietnam as illegal immigrants, or as those who have entered the country illegally. These refugees will be dealt with accordingly".

But Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie tempered justice with mercy when he said each case would be determined on its merits. This was done in the case of Muslim refugees from Cambodia, and I can say they are truly deserving cases, justly meriting favourable consideration, for their plight is deplorably sad.

Tight screening has also been carried out to make sure that there are no Communists or Communist agents amongst them. They were first screened by Thai officials and then by Home Ministry officers. Among the refugees were two Cambodian Welfare Officers who could vouch for the integrity of these refugees. In addition to this, the refugees know one another, and there is no likelihood of their trying to shelter Communists among them.

These refugees have suffered so severely at the hands of the Communists that they are not likely to show any love of, or sympathy for, the enemy who they remember with vengeance, for it was due to them that they have had to flee their own country and seek asylum elsewhere.

The Thais have witnessed the ghastly killing of refugees handed back to Cambodian officials across the border. They were shot in cold blood before the eyes of the astounded Thais. The stories the Muslim refugees told us were that the Muslims had been forced to give up their religion, or rather prevented from practising Islam. Religious teachers or heads of religion who dared to protest were killed, and some mosques had been used as pigsties to humiliate the Muslims. For these reasons the Muslims and their families had escaped, leaving behind everything they held dear, to find safety for themselves and their families.

Out of the 60,000 or 70,000 Muslims in Cambodia, the number that has been accounted for has been the 2,000 or so who escaped to Malaysia, and those still in the camps in Thailand. Those who have vanished into the jungle have not been heard of, and presumably they are alive. Others who remain behind must toe the Communist line and give up Islam or else perish.

Tales of horror and hardship that come from that part of

Southeast Asia have been terrifying, and it is hard for human society to turn a deaf ear to their plea for shelter.

As for the Muslim refugees from the Philippines it was impossible to believe that such religious persecution could have existed in the modern world, where religious tolerance has been the order of the day. Yet, in the Philippines, people are being persecuted because of their faith. But after some pressure both from Muslim countries and the Pope, President Marcos has made a lot of concessions. But there are still organised Christian bodies led by priests who still defy his authority, as a result of which religious persecution continues unabated and thousands of Muslims have been driven from their homes.

All those people who sought shelter in Sabah had nowhere to go for their safety. On humanitarian grounds alone it would have been an act of cruelty to deprive them of this political and religious asylum to which they were entitled as Muslims.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees, through the Malaysian Red Crescent, has also made substantial financial contributions towards the relief of these refugees. It is not for us Muslims to send them back to the country where ruination awaits them, and as Muslims it must be our duty to help them. Most of these people have found some happiness in our own country among Muslims. They have in fact assimilated so easily with the rest of the people that they present no problem.

I regret to say, however, that some Muslims in Malaysia have not interested themselves in Islamic welfare other than to condemn, find fault, or think of ways and means of enhancing punishment for *khalwat* and adultery. For all they care, a Muslim may perish on their own door-step without their lifting a finger to help.

Chapter Twenty-seven

Hari Raya Haji

The significance of Hari Raya Haji is unlike Hari Raya Puasa, because this is the day when the Prophet Ibrahim was ready to sacrifice his son to show his faith in God — just as he was about to deliver the stroke by which his son would die the great God substituted a ram instead. And so whenever Hari Raya Haji comes around, Muslims offer sacrifice by way of goats or oxen, and those who cannot afford it offer chickens to commemorate the occasion.

The one thing that must be done is to give offerings to those who are in need of food, but the donors themselves cannot retain an ounce of meat they mean to give. So in Mecca one event that always happens in the Haj is that all the pilgrims in their hundreds of thousands, buy goats, which are peddled for the purpose. These goats are then slaughtered at Mount Arafat, and thousands of pounds of this meat are just given away, or wasted.

When I was in Jeddah as Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers I tried to negotiate with a refrigeration firm to take this meat, store it, and then sell it for the benefit of charities. The terms of the agreement, however were not quite met in the end, so the deal did not come into effect. The Secretariat was not rich enough to undertake the big responsibility of taking over the storage and slaughter of all the meat and then transporting it again to countries abroad for sale. So thousands of pounds of meat are unnecessarily wasted, meat which could have been used to good purpose.

According to the Holy Quran the sacrifice is universal (22:370). "And to every nation we appointed acts of sacrifice that they may mention in the name of Allah on what He has given them of the cattle quadrupeds. So your God is one God. To Him you should submit and give good news to the humble ones whose heart trembles when Allah is mentioned."

Also 22:4Q says the act of sacrifice of an animal is an act

which teaches self-denial, submission to one God with a prized animal of this world, accompanied by humbleness of heart and patience and true piety.

When these pious acts are analysed we find: the prized animal should be sacrificed in the name of Allah; people regard the cow as one of the world's valuable possessions; the only pastoral property that Arabs have are sheep, goats and camels; these animals are a most valuable source of income for Arabs; so any sacrifice of these animals is a great loss to them and causes acute mental suffering. The sacrifice was therefore ordered as a very effective way of driving out from the mind any love of material gain so as to show love for God. Clearly, this Haji sacrifice teaches surrender and complete submission to the Almighty. Indeed at the time of Ibrahim a cow was also an object of worship for the Israelites. Therefore a cow is a more suitable sacrifice in this sense as an offering in the name of God.

This act of devotion and love is essential for all those who have good luck and for all who can afford it, but the action must be carried out in a true spirit of sacrifice in the name of God. The animal selected must be good, clean and wholesome, and without defects in any limb. To be offered for sacrifice, a cow must not be less than two years old, a goat not less than one, and each ram or sheep over six months.

Anas reported that the Messenger of Allah, Mohammad S.A.W. sacrificed two rams which were white with black markings, saying, "In the name of Allah the Greatest I make the sacrifice." In the time of the Holy Prophet, a cow was very hard to come by in Arabia.

And Ummi Salamah reported that the Messenger of Allah said, "When the first ten days come, and some of you wish to make an offering by sacrifice, let him not touch anything, not even their hair and skin."

According to Ibn Abbas, the Prophet said "There are no days wherein good actions are more pleasing to Allah than in these ten days." They asked: "*O Ms* of Allah no jihad in the name of Allah?" and he replied, "No jihad in the name of Allah — except jihad when a person who went out with himself and property and did not return with anything thereof."

According to Jabar, when the Prophet placed offerings facing the Qibla he said, "Verily I turn my face towards the

One who created the heavens and the earth upon the religion of Abraham, being upright, and I am not one of the polytheists. Verily my prayer, my sacrifice, my life and my death are all for Allah, the Lord of the world. There is no partner for Him, and I have been ordered with that and I am one of the Muslims. Oh, Allah it is Thine and for Thee from Mohammad and his people in the name of Allah. Allah is the Greatest. For Him the animal is slaughtered.''

When I first made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1958, I went as an ordinary person with my savings of $3,000, and at that time it was good money. I paid for all my transport, and I refused to accept any help from our Government, for I felt that this pilgrimage must be made in a true spirit of sacrifice, in all piety and in absolute humility.

When I reached Saudi Arabia, however, to my surprise I was received as a guest of the Government, though I had made no claim for the privilege of being received as a VIP. In Mecca I stayed at the best hotel which at that time was the Hotel Cairo. When the pilgrimage ended the hotel manager presented me with a bill for 500 riyals for the sacrifice, which I willingly paid as it was done on my instructions. Then as I was leaving the hotel his son, who had been my constant companion, presented me with another bill for 550 riyals. I also paid that, although I had not given him any instructions and I had not seen a goat slaughtered. However, he had been a great help to me, and I gave it without question as a present to him.

My Malaysian companion said to me, ''Tunku, you have been put on the altar of sacrifice''.

My reply was, ''Let it be, it all happens in one's life-time.'' However, that is the spirit of a pilgrim who makes the visit to Mecca. He cares nothing about what is happening to him for his mind is on his mission to Mecca and on devotion to God.

Thousands of pilgrims put up with considerable inconvenience or trouble most simply, stoically and with real patience. They make the seven circuits of the Kaabah, and though the space is vast it is so crammed with people that one is pushed, jostled and trampled upon, yet no one loses his temper. They all take it in good spirit, and it is the same with the seven circuits of the arched Saie, altogether about two miles, which act of piety symbolises the search for water made by Siti Hajar, the wife of the Prophet Ibrahim.

The sick are carried in chairs, or pushed in wheel-chairs, along a special lane built for them to avoid the crush. The guides lead the various parties in chanting praise to Allah all the way up and down seven times. It is a very tiring affair, but nevertheless no-one seems to feel it or to notice the physical strain. On the last occasion I made the Pilgrimage, all the guides were taken up, so Tun Mustapha acted as guide, a story I related before, one which we have enjoyed in jokes long since.

When it is time to visit Arafat the crowds go their way by bus, in cars or on foot. At Arafat everyone either pitches their tents or stays in the blazing-hot sun until sunset, and during the day they either make their sacrifice or spend their time reading the Quran and praying. Then at sunset the hundreds of thousands of people throng their way to Minah. There they pick up pebbles to throw at the Devil, symbolised by two wells.

These are intended only to show our hatred for the Devil who defied God's commands, but some of the pilgrims get so worked up and incensed that they even throw their shoes, and anything they happen to possess. Those who camp near the wells invariably get hit by the pebbles or the shoes. Though the act of throwing pebbles is purely symbolic, yet these people are so maddened, their emotions beyond control, that in their frenzy and ignorance they think the Devil is really there, waiting for them in the well to be stoned.

Anyway, such incidents all indicate the extreme religious zeal that all Muslims experience when they make their journey to Mecca on pilgrimage, a duty which they all have to perform, if they can afford it, at least once in their life-time. It was a wonderful sight to see people of all races, of all colours from all parts of the world coming together in Mecca, all gathered for the same pilgrimage. All dressed alike in stitchless towels or white cloth, all have their minds and hearts set on one duty, to visit the Holy City where the religion of Islam was born.

After their duties as pilgrims in the Holy City they go to Medina, the city in which the Messenger of Allah launched the religion, and saw it grow into maturity in Arabia, before Islam expanded to the four corners of the world. No-one can help being overwhelmed by the sight that meets his gaze, the tremendous conglomeration of human beings, all united by one common purpose, to do homage to God and to his Mes-

senger, the Holy Prophet.

In Malaysia the celebration of Hari Raya Haji is not carried out with as much zeal and fervour as Hari Raya Puasa, because one does not have to starve until the big day. However, the difference between the two is that Hari Raya Puasa signifies the spirit of charity, while Raya Haji symbolises the spirit of sacrifice — and both honour the Name of God.

But before Hari Raya Puasa is celebrated, Muslims fast during the month of Ramadan and when that ends, there is a sense of joy and gladness that only Muslims can truly know or appreciate. During Ramadan a true Muslim endures terrible hardship in keeping the fast — giving up eating, drinking, smoking, or whatever he usually does during the other days of his life throughout the year.

Each day of the fast in Malaysia begins soon after five o'clock in the morning and lasts till almost seven o'clock at night. The times vary in different places as the days of the week progress, but during the fast, the average Muslim will have nothing in his stomach for fourteen hours.

Immediately when the fast is over each night, he performs the Magrib prayer, Ishak and the Trawis. After the break of fast he is free in the evening to drink, smoke or do anything else he wants to, but curiously enough he invariably finds that, although he has that full freedom, he rarely wants to make full use of it.

Speaking for myself, I did miss smoking during the day and gave up any kind of alcoholic drinks for the whole month. Muslims, of course, are not supposed to take strong drinks at all, but being only human, and influenced to some extent by foreign cultures, one cannot help but succumb to this temptation or to other small personal weaknesses or harmless faults.

During the days of the Fasting Month one gets rather numb in mind and body, even dopey and disinclined to be active in any way. In fact, it is only with great effort that one can bring oneself to do any work at all. To write articles, such as I do, becomes so difficult, for the mind seems to slow down, being not as quick and active in thought as it usually is. Even to talk is difficult, let alone to write. In other words, for one whole month your whole way of life changes completely; you sleep in the daytime and keep awake at night, the reverse of normal daily living.

If anyone asks, "Why fast? What is the idea of doing so?" the answer is simple. The idea is to suffer, as only through personal suffering can anyone realise what the sufferings of others are, or know just what it is like to be poor and hungry and without food. So, when the Fasting Month ends, it is a compulsory duty for every Muslim to remember those in want by giving alms for himself and all members of his family and dependants.

This is called the *Fitrah*, and amounts to either one *gantang* (six katis) of rice or its equivalent in cash. Today the State fixes a price and receives the Fitrah which is paid into the "Zakat, Fitrah and Bitalman Fund." All this money or rice is given away, but only to the poor and needy, to orphans, the aged or the infirm.

Fasting is one of the five principles of Islam. The other four "pillars" are prayers, the paying of *Zakat*, faith in God and the Holy Prophet Mohammad, and the pilgrimage to Mecca if one can afford it. But of these five principles, two, prayer and fasting, are the true test of a Muslim's belief in God.

For me, I have been through the fast for very many years, and I am able to say that I am well enough now at my age of 75 to stand the stress and the strain, and yet emerge at the end of thirty days of fasting a very fit man, my body feeling thoroughly overhauled and ready to face and indulge in all the amenities and pleasures of life for the next eleven months, with absolute freedom and with my usual gaiety.

In fact I was born in 1903 and now it is 1978 and so I have seen and experienced 76 Puasas and Rayas. I must say I enjoyed them when I was a boy.

For those who never fast, how will they ever understand how refreshing a drink of water can be, or how sweet and lovely a morsel of food can taste when you come to break your fast? For these people everything they eat or drink tastes just the same as always, The only time they go without food is when they are too ill to eat, or when they get lost in the jungles, or on the high seas.

So how can they know what it really feels like when thirty days of self-denial, self-imposed punishment, comes to an end or what a great joy it is, the release of being able to celebrate Hari Raya?

There is another reason for fasting which Muslims understand, for fasting is to honour and remember the month when

the Holy Quran was handed down to the Prophet Mohammad, so the month of Ramadan is the most important in the whole Muslim calendar. It is the month especially dedicated to the Prophet, the month in which to express one's humility. Then when Hari Raya comes we ask for forgiveness, send out greeting cards to our friends with the words "Selamat Hari Raya", meaning not only "Peace and safety be with you", but also "*Maaf*", or "Pardon" for any offences one may have committed.

It may be of interest to know that I claim to be the first in Malaysia to send out greeting cards for Hari Raya: that was in 1931. If I remember right, the number of cards I posted on this first occasion was about one hundred, these having been printed by my good friend, the late Mr. Samy, Superintendent of Printing in Kedah.

What I wrote on these cards was "Selamat Hari Raya", and I posted or delivered them to all my friends. I wonder if any of them has kept one as a souvenir, because I myself have not done so. In fact, I have kept no diary at all.

In the years that followed, the number of greeting cards sent out by various people increased, and today everybody greets friends from near and far with cards — an expensive affair but necessary to express our goodwill and friendship for one another.

In Malaysia now people of every creed have adopted this custom for various festivals, such as the Chinese New Year, Wesak Day or Deepavali. In fact, the Europeans started this form of greeting many, many long years ago, for Christmas and the New Year.

In my boyhood and youth in Kedah I remember quite distinctly how people used to liven up the evenings of the Fasting Month by holding Quran readings in the kampungs, in their homes, or mosques and *suraus* all through the night.

In Kedah, the home of the learned in the way of religion, in the old days they held Quran readings by inviting well-known readers. In fact in the early Thirties, my brother, Tunku Yaacob was the first to start Quran Reading Competitions.

Each year this competition increased in popularity, crowds thronging the grounds where the readings were held: this was an event not known anywhere else in the world.

The whole town of Alor Star would be closed to all traffic,

and the ground surrounding the mosque would be packed with vendors selling all kinds of titbits.

When I first came to live in Kuala Lumpur, I found that in contrast to Kedah, the Fasting Month was dull and uninteresting. So when I became Prime Minister I introduced the Quran Reading Competition, and I am very happy to say and to see that the interest created in this Competition has grown to become world-wide.

The annual Competition, under the efficient management of Tan Sri Syed Nasir and his staff, has won great success. All the Agungs have given their patronage to the Competitions; and the late Tun Razak and the present Prime Minister, Datuk Hussein Onn, have also shown very keen interest.

The Competition each year, both national and international, is an event in which we the people of Malaysia can feel genuine pride, for it was Malaysia which introduced Quran Reading Competitions to the world.

In our modern history as a sovereign nation in our own right, each chapter has opened with a fanfare of new events, but in my view at any rate the Quran Reading Competition may well be considered one of the most important events celebrated in our country each year.

According to Datuk Hussein Onn, in his speech on the night of the opening of the 1976 Quran Reading Competition, it was Tun Razak who made a success of these Quran contests. Whether he is right or wrong is immaterial, so long as this Competition achieves the desired effect, and it has.

A curious anachronism occurs to me— that is, in the land where the Muslim religion was born there are no such Hari Raya celebrations at the end of Ramadan, such as we have in Malaysia. However, the nights of Ramadan are gaiety itself, with people milling around shops in the bazaars all the night through. Every night we watched them, men and woman of all races rubbing shoulders, laughing, chattering gaily as they picked their way to the shops and stalls. It was real fun.

During my first Raya in Jeddah I was taken aback to learn that in Saudi Arabia there is no custom of visiting the homes of Ministers and VIPs. Naturally, in our own Secretariat, we prepared cakes and all kinds of sweets in great variety (for the Arabs really have a sweet tooth) yet nobody turned up, except a few people who trickled in at odd hours of the day, and all of

them were Malays. The only Arabs who came were those on the Secretariat staff.

At the end of Ramadan the Arabs just stay at home, and the rich go abroad for a holiday. They hold their prayers for the end of the Fasting Month after the Suboh prayer, round about six o'clock, but nowhere is there any such gaiety in the homeland of Islam as we enjoy here in Malaysia.

Over there after the end-of-Ramadan prayers the Arabs just go to bed, whereas in Malaysia we remain at home to receive all our visitors, because this is the biggest festival of all among the Malays. No Malay home, however humble it may be, is unable to offer a friendly visitor a glass of *serbat* and a piece of cake.

In one sense, the month of Ramadan gives us time to relax and take things easy, time to think and take stock of what is going on in this modern world of ours, with all its hurry-scurry, bustle and excitement.

We can sit back, so to speak, and watch the world spin round, with other human beings busying themselves everywhere, making more money or creating more trouble for others, while we, calm in heart, pay our dutiful homage to Almighty Allah.

We give thanks to Allah for His small mercies and for the shelter and protection He gives us. In our prayers, and during our fasting and meditation, we ask Him to bring sanity to this troubled and disturbed world in which we live, with all its attendant dangers and violent upheavals, praying to Him that we may live always in peace and goodwill.

Chapter Twenty-eight

Why Pick on the Joget Girls?

One of the big problems we face today, and a very serious one at that, is how to manage and control our women. Conditions are not the same as they were in my young days. The world and all it contains has altered. Everything has changed, including the behaviour of our men and women, and even more so, of our "teenagers".

A man of my years, who has gone through the passage of time with a big generation gap, has to accept people as they are, either for better or worse, or for good or for evil. I have watched many changes occur and evolve, and I realise that no man on earth can stop them.

Once upon a time King Canute was told that he was a great king; even the incoming tide would not wet his feet. Being a wise man, he asked his subjects to put his throne right on the beach to prove the truth of their platitude. As the tide rose, and each succeeding wave came closer and closer to him he commanded, "Recede, tide!", but he got thoroughly drenched.

Like a rising tide, so are the ways of men and the passing times. No king's men or knights can stop the evergrowing processes of change.

Owing to such trends, some girls have to earn their way as professional dancers. When I wrote previously that it was cruel to deprive these girls of their livelihood by closing down the dance-halls, I meant every word I said; and I am prepared to defend my stand.

In the twilight of my life, and by the Grace of God, I have become immersed even more deeply in human affairs in the name of religion. I am duty-bound to take up the cases of men and women who fall foul of circumstances and good fortune.

Their welfare and their needs have to be met. The problems include finding jobs for new converts, helping women who have trouble with their husbands, and looking after those thrown into the world without any means of subsistence. We must also

see to the rehabilitation of drug-addicts, and, in general, the affairs of any young person in distress.

It is hard for any woman without education or training to find a career or any opening for a job with a good income. When I was a young man, conditions were very different. Women did not have to work; they just sat in the kampungs gossiping, while younger girls stayed in the back rooms or busied themselves in the kitchens. When they came of age their parents would find husbands for them; and they had to be content with the results. They did not ask for much, and when they produced their babies they spent their time looking after them.

In agricultural states, they went into the fields, braving the sun until their complexions were burnt brown or black, and thus helped to supplement their family incomes by tending the *padi*, the cattle and goats or the ducks and chickens. In their own way, they lived happy lives.

In the towns, however, they had nothing to do except to wait for their husbands to come along. In the fields of entertainment and the theatre, a few went on the stage as *bangsawan* actresses or *ronggeng* dancers. If they were good at making cakes, they placed what they baked or cooked for sale in the coffee-shops.

Before the Second World War, during the early Thirties, when dance-halls began to open, some girls, mostly Chinese, took up taxi-dancing and earned fees for doing so. When the *Joget Moden* became the vogue, Malay girls, too, danced for a living. And later on, in the course of time, girls came to work in offices and on estates.

After Independence, the number of industries in our country grew, so young girls found ready employment in these organisations, working side-by-side with men, even up to late hours. Often we would see in the gardens or in the streets or shops young men and women walking hand-in-hand, without a care in the world, in the style of Western people.

They just feel free to go about, in fact to dress as they like — Malay girls who ten years before would never have been seen with men in the streets. They wore *sarong* and *baju*, or *kain kelumbong*. Nowadays they have discarded older proprieties, throwing traditions to the wind, and they live and do things much as they like. Late at night I see them sitting in cars with

young men, sometimes not necessarily Malays; also wandering about in the Lake Gardens. Who can stop them? It would take a revolution to do so.

So why pick upon these joget-girls as a target and as a subject for religious reform, leaving out others? Many joget-girls, at least, have won husbands and earn an honest living. Just like Tommy Tucker who had to sing for his supper, they dance; this is no crime. What is really a wrong and a crime in the human sense is to deprive such women of their livelihood.

Those responsible are answerable, too, for any sins these girls are forced to commit, if driven out of their jobs. As a famous poet once wrote, and I quote:

If you want to be glad
By making someone
Gloomy and Sad,
Bemoan your sick Reason
Throughout your life,
For this tyranny, meanness
Is a sign of Brutality,
Which is morally Too Bad!

Everywhere we turn we find women working side-by-side with men. Some women earn more. Women are taking on even more responsible jobs as scientists, judicial officers, doctors, nurses, lawyers, accountants, or policewomen who direct traffic during peak hours and in the heat of the day.

What's more, women are playing football, and of course badminton, hockey or tennis and taking part in athletics — in fact, everything that men do, women do. Why! Some women have become Prime Ministers!

So why take it out on these poor joget-girls who can't fight back? All women who take part in day-to-day activities are exposed to men's gaze and attention no more and no less than the joget-girls are.

I am not saying that dancing is a good profession for a girl — far from it. Personally I would not like to see any member of my family doing so. For those girls, however, who have no other training nor other means of earning an income, what possible career can they take up except dancing, the easiest profession of all, especially for those who have an ear for music?

If we stop them doing so, then we must go the whole way, that is, stop all women from doing any work that brings them into contact with men. Tell them to go back to their homes and their kitchens.

In Saudi Arabia, at least according to the people, they do the right thing. Women cannot even travel in a bus; they appear in public in purdah, their faces all covered up. Every house is surrounded by walls within which women are kept in strict seclusion from the rest of the world.

Our women in Malaysia, however, are very much emancipated, and it will be hard for anyone to try to keep them indoors.

When I began working in Jeddah to help unite the Muslim nations, one of my efforts was to organise a women's movement. I maintained that no real progress could be made without the co-operation of women. "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world."

It is very true to say that UMNO found real progress when it re-organised the women members, the *Kaum Ibu*, to play a role in politics — a vital one it turned out to be. It would be a good idea for women themselves to organise an association to look after the affairs of members of their own sex.

In the light of changed circumstances, the best we can do is to give women guidance on how to dress, and how to deport themselves decently in public. Dancing-girls should be dressed for the occasion, and if possible in Malay dress, just as or rather like air-hostesses who wear batik uniforms or dresses of other material, but are properly attired in Malay styles.

Once the good looks of joget-girls change, their careers also disappear, and so do their chances of getting husbands. However, I know for a fact that many of these girls marry into well-to-do families and find happiness. One thing that worries me today, however, is to see our girls following Western styles. If they are Malays, they lose thereby their gentleness and charm, and their racial characteristics. So do most Asian people who tend to follow the wrong Western ways, and not the right ones. Such actions lead them nowhere, and only earn the contempt of their own people.

That's why I like the way Japanese women behave: they are so polite and tender. So are the Thais. Whatever changes may have taken place in these countries, the women stick faith-

fully to the traditions of their womanhood, and in doing so they have earned admiration throughout the world.

We should imbibe civilisation, always using it for the good of our people, but we must not misuse it or abuse it to the detriment of our races. I have seen how some Malay parents give their children much liberty and freedom, allowing them to have so much of their own way that in the end they find themselves lost. The mistake is not theirs, but their parents!

Chapter Twenty-nine

Long Hair

Another mode I object to is long hair on men. I like to see a glowing and luxuriant growth of hair on a head, but, as with everything else, it must be right, both on the right head and overflowing the right shoulders; but I certainly dislike seeing hair wasted on wrong heads and overflowing on wrong shoulders. Such hair is wasted on a man, but it is certainly a crowning beauty on the head of a woman. What is even more ugly and unsightly is to see hair waving and swaying on the heads of footballers, tennis-players, cricketers and athletes as they run about the field.

Long hair certainly is the preserve of women. The more thickly the hair grows the more bewitching and beautiful the wearer appears — but never on a man; it is not becoming for him to have long hair.

Years and years ago, taking Western history in the period of Charles I or the 17th Century, men wore wigs which went with lacy style of costumes and the swords they bore, but certainly not with the collars, ties and suits we wear today, or are supposed to wear if we appear in Western garb. In Malay dress such long tresses are a complete misfit, and contravene our custom.

It was the fashion in Europe in those years for the gallants to display their finery in all shapes and forms, but never in Asia. The Sikhs and the Hindus, because of their religion, have to keep their hair and beards long, but this was never taken up by other Asians as a style worth following. Even Sikhs hide their long hair under their turbans and tidy up their beards and sometimes trim them to improve their facial appearance, and this custom they keep till today because, I repeat, they are required by their religion to do so.

Now it has so happened, some giddy goats in the West started the fashion of long hair as a publicity stunt to give effect to their equally giddy music. The craze caught on here,

to the disgust of the Sikhs. Sitting in the mosques, for instance, behind these young people with flowing locks, it is most disturbing to see that perched on the top of their heads are caps, while their long hair reaches down to their shoulders. This indeed is a most unsightly spectacle, and what's more, to be seen in a place of worship.

Generally speaking, to have long hair is not quite a pleasant habit in Asia, particularly in the tropics with its steaming heat and crawling lice. It is different with women, for whom long hair has always been the pride of their sex. They do light work and confine themselves to light exercise. They prepare their hair and dress it up in many fashions, and they look nice and womanly. Never do we see women bald-headed as we often see men, so to see men with flowing long hair is like seeing women without hair.

Sometimes in the kampungs we do see women sitting on steps, one above the other, looking for lice and crushing them between their nails, and this is not a pretty sight. This may happen before long, one man searching for lice in the head of another and crushing them! But I hope that that time will never come, at least not in my life-time.

In Europe, at the turn of the century, people associated long hair with artists and musicians, in other words with Bohemians, people who indulged in a free permissive society. This circle has widened extensively now to include young people in many walks of life, from musicians to students to sportsmen and others.

People of the Western hemisphere can afford to go astray and adopt any strange cult with their long hair and glorious traditions behind them. But can we take the plunge and pick up this moral decline as a starting point to begin our history? In particular can this blind acceptance of Western ways go together with the growth and progressive thinking of the cream of our society?

When I talk of long hair, I don't mean hair that reaches the shirt-collar or the level of the ear-lobes. This can be considered a trend in modern hair styles, but it is hair of shoulder-length that tends to confuse the sexes.

What is happening in the West is for them a small matter, for in no time they can repair any damage with their background and traditions of long standing, and recapture their

past. Who are we to follow them?

Malaysia has a brief history, and until 1957 knew no Independence. It appears as though our country has degenerated even before it has started. We copy Western civilisation at the lowest ebb of their social decline; in other words, we pick the wrong end of their civilisation and hope with that to build our nation.

What our young man will succeed in doing will be to smear the pages of our history with dirt and rubbish. I never dreamt when I stood on the platform declaring the Independence of this country that I would live to see this happen. We started off very well, giving our young men and women interests in sports, music and culture. That was in 1957, but before twenty years are up changes for the worse are already taking place.

At least Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, the Prime Minister of Singapore, was conscious of this danger. He saw the corrupting influence of this objectionable habit of over-long hair. Though he has not expressed it in so many words, he knows the damaging effect it can have on society, and that it can bring moral decadence to his small island-state if it gets out of control.

Prevention is better than cure, so the Singapore Government has banned long hair. The prohibition should not include foreigners and visitors, but if they choose to live in Singapore then they must abide by the rules and regulations imposed by the State for the good of its people.

Students at the MARA Institute of Technology were not happy with the disciplinary regulations passed by the Director, Datuk Lokman Musa. They strongly objected to regulations which prohibited them from keeping their hair long.

As we say in Malay, "*Pemuda harapan bangsa*" ("Youth is the hope of the nation"). If they bear in mind what I have written perhaps the students will appreciate the need for discipline in universities, colleges and schools. We look to them to attend to history-making. Therefore, let them prepare themselves to do it, and do it well.

In fact the Ministry of Education issued a directive to all Headmasters of schools as early as March 16, 1972, asking students to keep their hair short. The directive required boys to keep their hair at a proper length and, according to the circular, (a) it must not exceed six inches in length, (b) it must not

cover more than the middle of the ears, (c) it must not pass the middle of the forehead, (d) it must not reach beyond the nape of the neck, and (e) there must be no side-burns.

I see the danger here clearly, and I fear for what will come in its wake. We must give our thoughts to the future of this country. One of our duties is to maintain our discipline at a high level and keep up acts of patriotism that can be a source of pride to our nation.

Chapter Thirty

Khalwat

Khalwat is very much in the news since it was reported that an old man of 104 years was charged with the offence and sentenced in Bukit Mertajam. Khalwat is a social evil, one which no law or man can stamp out. It just happens everyday and everywhere — in high society, in the middle class and at lower income levels — but it happens and nobody gives it a serious thought.

It happens in places of business, in factories, in parks, on the beaches, in clubs and in quiet corners at social functions. Thousands commit Khalwat; some do so intentionally, others unintentionally, but they all enjoy it. The fact remains, however, that Khalwat is loosely defined: under Muslim law when two people are together in close proximity then they are guilty of Khalwat.

Actually Khalwat means that they must have come together with the intention of having sexual intercourse without being legally married. That puts it bluntly. If a man is found with a woman in suspicious circumstances, he can be charged with Khalwat. Or if a man is found sitting side by side with a woman in some secluded place, he too can be charged with Khalwat. As Khalwat is interpreted so loosely, it is easy for anyone who has a grudge against another just to frame him with false witnesses, and for the *Shariah* Court to deal with him as it deems fit.

In the case in Bukit Mertajam an old man who gave his age as 104 pleaded guilty to a charge of Khalwat with a woman whose age was not mentioned, and was fined $100 or one month's imprisonment in lieu. The old man was unable to pay the fine and is now serving a sentence. On the other hand, the woman denied the charge, and she must soon face trial in the *Shariah* Court.

Whether the old man's plea of being guilty arose out of his own sense of guilt or from a desire to boast of his prowess, it

was unkind of the people involved to make this case an example. After all, he had reached the age when such pleasure is often denied to a person. Why not leave him alone, for he has little to live for and there is not much left of his life?

According to the report four people, including a policeman, peeped through the window of a hut and saw the couple allegedly committing the offence. Having satisfied their curiosity, and presumably their fun, to see a 104-year-old man having intimate relations with a woman, they then burst open the door and arrested them in *flagrante delicto*. They were then bundled off to the police station in their confused state of mind, and the old man in his senility found it easy to say, "Yes, I am guilty."

The woman, his partner in Khalwat, refused however to admit any offence. Personally I feel she might be right, if Khalwat means what I think it means in this case — it's hard to believe in the old man's capability. But whatever it may be, why pick upon him when so many Khalwat incidents are taking place every day?

There was another case where a man was charged for molesting a girl and he was caught in very compromising circumstances. When examined by a doctor he was certified to be impotent. Nevertheless, Khalwat was clear as he had tried to "mess up" the girl. The point is, should Khalwat be treated as a separate offence, or should it be lumped together with an offence of a like nature that is punishable under the law of the State? The intention in making Khalwat an offence is to prevent people of opposite sexes from associating with one another in a way likely to lead to moral degradation.

With the changes that are taking place in society today, it makes this Khalwat rather ridiculous because the dividing line between what Khalwat is in the real sense, and the free association of the sexes, is so thin. So in the case of Khalwat the question immediately arises, why is so-and-so not charged, while another person in almost similar circumstances is charged and punished?

Perhaps this law should be looked into, but the civil law never dares to interfere with religious law. So perhaps rather than spend time sneaking and spying on what others do, the duty and responsibility of any Religious Affairs Department should be to teach young people to be attuned spiritually and

morally to the code of conduct pleasing to the society in which we live.

According to the State Religious Department, it is very much concerned over the increase in the number of Khalwat cases. The Deputy Public Prosecutor from the Religious Affairs Department, Encik Abdul Talib bin Haji Junid, stated that 120 cases of Khalwat were reported in the first nine months of the year; of these 60 per cent involved Muslim girls working in factories.

These figures did not take into account what is happening in offices and business houses, on street corners, in parks or on the beaches, or in all the big towns, either in hotels or lodging houses, or in out-of-the-way places. If these were also taken into account, many more thousands of cases would come to light.

I feel that this is how civilisation has added to endless worries in our society. Things happen today that one would never have dreamed of, even ten years ago. We see Malay girls discarding Malay habits and clothes, and donning see-through blouses and skin-clinging jeans, parading in the streets and big towns without a concern in the world. There are very few *sarong kebayas* and *bajus* to be seen in the streets of big towns, while the boys display their flowing or kinky locks, proudly.

Sometimes it is difficult to separate the boys from the girls. Their behaviour is almost identical, though boys are somewhat more cocky and offensive. They take their cue from the West, considering it smart to adopt Western ways.

Social reformers in this country are unable to cope with the changes. In fact, nobody bothers to do so. They allow the young people to do just what they like while they content themselves with sermons from the pulpits.

When I talk in this way, the young people refer to me as "a square". Whatever I am, there are some things in the world which I consider are good and there are other things which are bad. Every human being is free to make his choice, but being a family man myself, naturally I would like them to make the right choice.

Parents in the cities and towns are very much to blame for what is happening today. When you talk to them they just pass it off as being too much trouble to have to look after the welfare of their own children. In other words, they live for

themselves and what happens to their children is not their concern. According to them, the children are big enough to know what they are doing and they know best.

This is a mistake. They must be taught the rights and the wrongs of life and not be left to themselves to find out, so that when they do come to take their places in the world, they can decide the way of life best suited to them. But when they are not fully educated to find a niche in human society, the parents are to be blamed for what happens to them when they lose themselves.

In the drug rehabilitation centres, I have found that most of the inmates received little or no parental guidance and care, so much so that they get themselves mixed up with the wrong people just to seek and find comfort and friendship. They stay away from home up to the late hours of the night, and just return home to sleep. There's never any dinner or breakfast prepared for them, and so they make their way out and scrounge meals from others. These days they get involved in crime, drug addiction and all kinds of loose living.

There are more contemptible and unhallowed sins than Khalwat. If the Religious Affairs Department aims to take effective action against people for the sins of Khalwat, it will have to organise an anti-vice squad to the strength of perhaps the present Police Force in this country. Even then, it wouldn't be able to put a stop to it, unless they arrest the parents as well.

With the progress of civilisation, I feel that the sins of Khalwat and other evils will grow. But at the same time our Religious Affairs Departments continue to work on the same old system, and to apply the same old law in dealing with such cases as prevailed in the time of the Holy Prophet. How then can we manage to contain all these evils?

But we still have mad men in our midst who insist on applying the old law. The Religious Affairs Department of Kedah and Parti Islam recently urged all State Religious Departments and the National Islamic Affairs Council to amend the Islamic law regarding the punishment for adultery. According to the Party, punishment should be "according to the teachings of Islam". These fanatics pointed out that under Islamic law, adultery is punishable by stoning the offenders to death, and those guilty of Khalwat should be given one hundred strokes

of the *rotan*. This branch of Parti Islam made other resolutions. They also wanted action to be taken against the much-maligned Freemasons. Perhaps they want all Freemasons to be imprisoned for life or banished for good.

Stoning sounds very well, but is rather out-of-date in this "atomic and neutron age". Added to this is the fact that we live in a plural and multi-racial society, where the number of Muslims total only 48 per cent of the whole population. Such a law would be completely out of place here and unacceptable to others, and to be a law it must apply to all and sundry.

I remember the last time it was applied with all its severity in Saudi Arabia. That was in 1961 when I went there on an official visit. Every effort was made to get the couple concerned to repent, and for the wife to return to her estranged husband and avoid the penalty, but she was adamant and preferred to die with her lover. In other words, they challenged the authority of the law, so they were stoned to death and paid the extreme penalty. Since then I have never heard of another case where such a punishment has been imposed.

Further, if such a law is passed in this country there might not be enough stones available to cast at the sinners. Then, too, why waste the stones when they could be used for other good purposes?

The world has changed very much since adultery was punishable with death by stoning. In this promiscuous and permissive society people are free to go and do as they like. Girls have to eke out their own livelihood and so find employment for themselves. We find Malay girls working in offices, factories and shops, in fact anywhere and everywhere.

In golf clubs, too, we find them working, just like Indian women, tending to the grass, the rough and the greens in the blazing hot sun. This is something we never saw before, but they have to earn a living to maintain their homes and families, otherwise they will starve.

Unless these people are prevented from going out to work, there is no possibility whatsoever of stopping Khalwat or "close proximity" between men and women, and in regard to prostitution it is said to be the oldest profession in the world, and no one has been able to stop it, either then or now.

The next move is for PAS Kedah to ask for all factories to be closed, where there are mixed workers. So many Govern-

ment offices will have to sack their women employees, followed by business houses and factories. The poor girls will mourn their fate at home or go on the streets as prostitutes to get easy money and disease.

I have written about the subject of Khalwat previously, and about how ridiculous and meaningless I think such an offence has become, in the eyes of society. It is even more ridiculous now that the country is economically and industrially developed, what with more men and women being expected to turn up for work. How else can the Third Malaysia Plan be made to succeed?

Stoning adulterers used to be the fashion and form of punishment in the early Greek and Roman times, and in the old days of the Middle East pre-Islamic era, but in the Islamic period the law was tightened up, in that the offence was required to be proved beyond all reasonable doubt by the evidence of so many witnesses before any such punishment could be meted out to the guilty persons. It was obvious even then that the law was unpopular, and in course of time it went out of use and was finally replaced by other more civilised laws.

It would indeed be most degrading to the Malays when onlookers of non-Muslim faiths would be entertained to the spectacle of Malay men and women tied with their hands to their backs and stoned to death. It would be hard, too, to find a person who has led a sufficiently blameless life to cast the first stone.

I remember an occasion in Parliament when a member, Dr. Tan Chee Khoon, brought up the subject of a certain Mess or place of enjoyment owned by Members of Parliament. In other words, he accused certain members of the Cabinet of straying.

I stood up and asked, "Who among you, in this House, has not given in to temptation at one time or another?" I recall, the House was silent — you could have heard a pin drop.

Nobody stood up. Then amidst such solemnity, Chee Khoon himself stood up, and the only other person standing up was myself. No one else stood. All of a sudden there was a burst of laughter all around the House, and I quickly sat down, and so did Chee Khoon with an air of injured dignity.

It is a waste of time to think of returning to the old days. Nobody in a democratic country will accept any law that is completely out of tune with the present state of affairs, and with the

trend of the present day and mood, less still the Malays.

Whatever religious law, or whatever law introduced, must fit in with the age and time. The time of our Prophet and the time now are so far apart and so different, that the laws of that time can never be introduced *in toto* now in a modern, multi-racial society. It will also discourage others from showing any interest in the Muslim religion. It is for us to show how adaptable our religion is to modern life, and that it is not out-dated or antiquated, as others are inclined to believe.

The last death penalty for an alleged offence of adultery I recall took place in the early 19th Century, in 1810, and it concerned a beautiful lady very well-known in Kedah's history. Mashuri was her name, and her beauty incurred the jealousy of the maidens in the Island of Langkawi. She was accused of having an affair with Dramang, a gay Lothario, who used to boast of his conquests with maidens and with married women. It must have been one of his boasts which finally led Mashuri and him to the grave.

When Mashuri was formally charged with adultery, she denied it with all vehemence. Despite this she was sentenced to death by Sula. This was a most heinous and cruel act of killing ever devised by man — a kris is jammed between the shoulder-blades into the heart and stomach.

Before she met her death she cursed the Island with these words: "For seven generations Langkawi shall be a habitation fit only for the doves and castor-trees," which means that Langkawi would be a waste land. In Malay — "*Langkawi akan jadi padang jarak, padang terkukor selama tujoh keturunan.*"

The curse brought so much disaster to the peaceful island, for, not long after the death of Mashuri the Thais invaded it in revenge for their defeat at the hands of the people of Langkawi in the recapture of Kota Kuala Muda. They came in at the dead of night, and put to the sword all those who were within their reach, devastating the island with fire for miles around. For years nothing flourished on the island except castor-bushes and the doves.

Langkawi came under the spell of Mashuri for seven generations, but it was hard to know what she meant — seven generations of Rulers, or the family of Mashuri, or the number of years which make up seven generations? However, it was a strange experience when I first went there as District Officer.

It was eerie to hear dogs howling instead of barking.

The curse brought other misfortunes to the Island. Nothing seemed to have prospered there. A European company, Brown and Kennedy, started a sardine-business, as there was plenty of fish there. The business failed, and so they sold their one-cylinder Thorncroft-engine boat to the Government, which used it as a launch. As District Officer I used it for my inspection and picnicking.

There was also the first big marble-quarry started by a Jew named David from Singapore, in the pre-war period, and that also failed.

There was no metal road on the Island until I started to build one with the help of voluntary labour. I also built a bridge and a jetty, and finally I searched for Mashuri's grave, and to the best of our knowledge managed to locate it. I then built a tomb for her. The work was done by a Chinese contractor, Poh Sin Tong, who, when it came to payment for his work, refused to accept the money.

Incidentally, after sanctifying the grave, I got a promotion as District Officer, Sungei Patani, and Poh Sin Tong became a big business-man in Alor Star, and in no time a rich man. Strange as it may seem, the curse had been exorcised and Langkawi became free. Mashuri died a martyr, but imagine how many such martyrs might have been made, had such an inhuman punishment been allowed to continue with such a possible miscarriage of justice.

Coming back, however, to the Kedah branch of Parti Islam, they could be better-occupied by giving some of their valuable time to the more urgent needs of our people and in helping them to better their lot and their prospects in life.

For instance, I recently read a statement made by the Acting Project Manager of the State Economic Development Corporation, who explained: "The SEDC had drawn up a strategy for bumiputras to make full use of the industrial opportunites that are open to them at the Semembu Industrial Estate. The strategy includes facilities for bumiputras to build their own buildings (homes) before they complete their land payments."

There are also shares waiting to be taken up by the Malays and other bumiputras in many Government-sponsored projects. No one appears to be interested. It is the duty of Mem-

bers of Parliament to spend part of their time by going around and educating the people on the value of these projects. They must be encouraged to take advantage of the National Economic Policy introduced by the Government for the benefit of bumiputras.

The allotment of shares for bumiputras in the companies has not been taken up, and yet it is given at great disadvantages to the businesses concerned. It also encourages the creation of men of straw who lend their names for the purpose without any financial commitment. All these happenings do little credit to the Malays. On the other hand, we are put into contempt, hatred and ridicule.

The Government is being accused by the racialists of promulgating a policy of discrimination. This helps to add more enemies to the ever-increasing number of anti-Government and anti-Malay forces, and they are as equally dangerous as the Communists are. To add to the many problems, Parti Islam has put forward suggestions which will reduce our image even further in the eyes of others.

Chapter Thirty-one

The Islamic Development Bank

When I was in the Islamic Secretariat I realised that we had made no headway in promulgating Islamic unity. There can be no fraternity without some arrangement for mutual help and benefit.

The Islamic Secretariat meets once a year, and at that meeting resolutions are passed dealing with subjects ranging from politics to other matters of particular interest to the Arabs, especially the bitter Arab-Israeli hostility and conflict.

Promises made by the Muslims to support the Arabs were not fulfilled. They were empty promises made without any real or honest intention to help. This went on at every meeting, and I feared that if it continued the concept of Islamic unity would just break apart.

As time progressed dedicated members were impatient, and were beginning to lose interest in the Organisation. It was then that the idea of establishing a Muslim Development Bank came to my mind. I therefore sought an audience with the late King Feisal of Saudi Arabia and put forward my idea to him.

I explained to King Feisal that the Development Bank, as I envisaged it, would bring real unity and material benefit to the poorer Muslim countries and this would help create a sense of Muslim brotherhood. The amount of money subscribed would not affect any Muslim country except the very poor ones. The rich would not even feel that they were paying out anything. At the same time this money would do much to improve the living conditions of poor Muslim peoples.

I attributed the new-found wealth that gushes out from the arid desert to be acts of miracles, nothing less than the will of God for the good of the Muslim people. The King agreed and said it must be done, and that every effort must be made to establish such a bank.

The Conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers has brought all the Muslim countries together, but what is more important

is that they should stand to gain material benefit by this unity. Immense wealth has come to the Muslim nations from nowhere, producing millions of dollars every hour from oil.

It must be the will of God that this money should be used to a good purpose, and what better purpose can there be than to finance development projects in poor Muslim countries?

A short history of the Bank will perhaps interest readers. The wealthy countries were not actually keen to have this Bank. According to one Arab source, the opinion was that Arab wealth should not be used for the benefit of others who so far have given them lip-service only. In actual fact every member-country had to contribute towards the capital of this Bank in such proportions as it could afford, so the ones with vast wealth should put in more.

In Saudi Arabia the Finance Minister was not keen on the idea and rather lukewarm. At the first meeting of the Finance Ministers held by the Islamic Secretariat the Saudi Arabian representative was absent. I had to drive in the blazing hot sun with a temperature of no less than 150 degrees to see the King in Taif and report to him the absence of the Saudi Arabian representative. This annoyed the King, and he told me that he would take the matter up himself.

The next morning officials from the Foreign Ministry were present as well as those from the Ministry of Trade and Commerce, who were not the parties involved. They all came and told me the King was angry with them, but they were not to blame because they knew nothing about the meeting. But I said I was speaking to the representative of the Ministry of Finance only the day before and they should have known about the meeting. Admittedly His Majesty the late King included them by mistake. This is the early history of the Bank.

Then my successor as Secretary General, Hassan Tohamy, took it into his head that the Bank should be run by the Islamic Secretariat of Foreign Ministers. At the next meeting of the Organising Committee, he instigated and won over to his side Egypt and many other countries and the meeting ended without any decision being taken.

I had to visit Egypt and seek an interview with President Anwar Sadat, and after listening to my story, he promised his support for the Muslim Development Bank of the type we had in mind.

After that I had to visit various countries to get them to join the Bank. I met President Sadat twice; I went to Kuwait, Abu Dhabi, Qatar, Bahrain, Oman, Pakistan, Lebanon, Morocco, Libya and Algeria and after long and protracted discussions they all agreed to join. Only Iran refused. The smaller nations, of course, were not hard to convince for they knew they stood to benefit from this Bank. It was the rich countries, those who had to fork out the most money that I had difficulty in convincing.

In December 1973, the Islamic Conference of Finance Ministers signed a Declaration of Intent in Jeddah for the establishment of this Bank, to be known as the Islamic Development Bank. I headed the Committee which was set up to draft the Articles of Agreement in Kuala Lumpur.

In August 1974 the Articles of Agreement were presented to the Conference of Finance Ministers held in Jeddah which adopted them completely. Then it was that the Saudi Arabian Minister of Finance decided to take over the Bank and put their own man as head, as they feared I would tax their finances too hard. Unfortunately the incumbent died, and it was a long time before a new man could be found to take his place.

The President of this Bank now is Dr. Ahmad Mohamed Ali, a man well-suited for the job, well-educated and of high integrity, intelligence, and with vast financial experience behind him.

The authorised capital of the Bank is US$2,000 million,equivalent to M$6,000 million, divided into 200,000 shares each having a par value of 10,000 Islamic Dinar. The Finance Resources of the Bank are divided into:

(i) ''Ordinary Capital Resources'';
(ii) ''Special Fund Resources''; and
(iii) ''Trust Fund Resources''.

There are 26 member-countries, with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia holding the largest number of shares, and Libya next. The subscribed capital is to be paid up in five annual instalments. The ordinary operations of the Bank will be equity participation in projects/enterprises; investment in economic and social infrastructure projects; loans for public-sector projects, enterprises and programmes, and loans for private-sector projects, enterprises and programmes.

The Bank will normally finance projects or enterprises through equity participation only to the extent of one-third

of the total equity requirement of the project. Regarding investment in economic and social infrastructure projects/enterprises both in private and public sectors, the Bank will finance on the basis of profit-sharing. This is to ensure adequate income for the Bank. In the case of loans the following will apply: (1) a service fee of 2.5% to 3% per annum, and (2) for economic and socio-infrastructural projects, full payment to be completed in 40 years with a ten-year grace period.

In the main these are the objects of the Bank, but it will enter into all forms of contracts and provide aid to member-countries which will include education, science and technology, health, rural and urban development. All these forms of aid will be given to help improve the lot of member-countries, and it is expected that with the operation of this Bank Muslim countries throughout the world will enjoy the full impact of Muslim unity.

Chapter Thirty-two

The Case for English and Malay

The reactions of the vernacular papers to my views on English as the language for higher studies were quite natural, as they represented the views of those who have passed out from the Malay schools.

On the other hand, those who passed out from English schools have, on the whole, agreed with me, though they themselves have found it more convenient to remain silent, as they have their sons and daughters educated overseas. In the old days most students who qualified for entry into overseas universities entered directly from schools in Malaya.

The comments of the Malay-educated people are not quite relevant when they compare the position here with that prevailing in Indonesia, forgetting that Indonesia has a population of about 135 million, with ninety per cent being Indonesian, but one hundred per cent speaking the Malay language.

Furthermore, their educational background and their upbringing has been based entirely on the Indonesian language (Malay), and not Dutch.

So it was easy for the Indonesians to start off with a language of their own, a system of Government of their own, and a way of life of their own.

But, for us, the traditions of life have been different. We started off with a British background, with the whole administration and education based wholly on the British educational system.

Indonesia on the other hand had to struggle with her colonial masters and break completely away from the Dutch. In addition her people harboured bitter hatred for what the Dutch had done to them. They won their Independence with a violent revolution and overthrew the Dutch with a great sacrifice of lives.

We obtained our Independence constitutionally and after that, we had to seek the help of the British to educate and train our men to take over our country in order to give the best possible

Government to the people. As a result of this we have enjoyed progress, prosperity and peace, which other countries have never enjoyed in this part of the world. Our luck held on so well for so long, except for the violence of May 13 in 1969.

Malays only form 48% of the population of Malaysia and we cannot, however much we would wish it, do everything to our liking. We must find a happy medium to please all these people who have accepted this country as their home, and it is our duty to make it an object of their loyalty as well.

No one realises it better than we do, how much the world has changed and to what extent the changes have reflected on the different countries and different races and the different worlds we live in. Unless it can keep abreast with changes and keep pace with progress, no nation will enjoy peace.

For that reason education means so much to a nation like Malaysia. Unless we can size up the situation and know what is good for us, we are likely to lose out in the long run. You might call it a race for peaceful survival, and a country like Malaysia with its multi-racial people, can only enjoy peace if we can successfully participate in this race.

Once people lose confidence in the Government, there will be a breakdown in the economy, followed by political upheavals. No Government wants this to happen, least of all our Malaysian Government, which has on its hands Communist and anti-national activities, added to which are those people without an element of loyalty to the country.

Naturally, in a nation like Malaysia, with such gaps and differences, the situation is most delicate and distressing. The danger of racial trouble is ever-present, and for this reason the Government of the day has to keep an ever-watchful eye on trouble-spots, and remove them where possible.

In other words, we are sitting on a keg of gun-powder, and any enemy of the Government can set the fuse alight and blow this country up to smithereens.

All this has happened elsewhere among peoples of the same race with differences over religion, but with Malaysia we have people of different races, of different religions, influenced by so many different political outlooks and beliefs. On this fact alone, you can tell how serious the situation is here.

Any leader of this country who does not try to reduce the danger would be callous, heartless and disloyal to the cause he

has been chosen for and has sworn to serve.

Every honest and dedicated leader must know how best to tackle the various problems and issues that beset a country and deal with them impartially and quickly.

For one thing, he cannot make the people who inhabit this country one race and, for another, he cannot change them all to one religion.

This could have been done, and it was done in the medieval days, where you could force conversions, as the Spaniards did by cruel torture and killing. When Muslims took India, they could have done the same, and the whole of India would have been converted, but this was not done. The Turks did carry out forced conversions in those countries which resented their rule. However, this cannot be done today, and cannot even be thought of.

We can do more good with the situation prevailing here today, which we partly inherited from the British. We have had to make up for the many failings suffered under the British administration, which left the Malays, the indigenous people, in this country completely neglected and uncared for. The British took wholly to progress and a heartless exploitation of the country without any thought for the Malays, and no Malay opposed them.

The education they gave the kampung Malays in the kampung schools gave us no opportunity to aspire for higher education and for professional careers. Most of the Malays ended their schooling at an early age. Clever ones continued their studies for better jobs while the rest took up whatever jobs were available.

Take the case of Datuk Senu Abdul Rahman, a Tanjong Malim qualified teacher who felt strongly that English would help him better his prospects in life, so he left his job, worked his way to America, found a job in a restaurant, where he washed dishes as a kitchen-boy, and studied at night. With determination and perseverance, he obtained his education and returned home to become a Cabinet Minister and Secretary-General of UMNO.

Another like him is Datuk Ja'afar Hassan, who started life as a *penghulu*, but bettered his education by studying English, finally qualifying as a lawyer, and is now the popular Menteri Besar of Perlis.

Then there is Datuk Syed Kechik bin Syed Mohamed who, like Datuk Senu, washed dishes and scraped the deck of a cargo boat, while studying English. Now he is easily one of the richest

Malay lawyers in the country.

There are a few more like them, but it would take me too long to mention them here.

In the universities, when Independence came, only nine per cent of the students were Malays. There were hardly more than this number either in English schools in the Straits Settlements or the Federated Malay States, while in the Non-Federated Malay States, they were better cared for, as the Governments of these States had a much greater say in the affairs of their people.

Every Malay who completed his fourth year of study in a Malay school entered a special class in the English school. I myself completed my Malay education before I entered the Penang Free School.

The State which I come from provided English education up to the highest level, while the Malay language was being taught in the early primary classes. The brainy ones continued their education to university level and those with Junior or Senior Cambridge qualifications found employment in the Government service.

While the official language was Malay, all correspondence was carried out in the English language. Nobody worried and no trials in the lower courts were held in Malay. The same situation prevailed in Johore, Kelantan, Trengganu and Perlis. The people from these States succeeded in bringing about Malay unity which finally led to Independence for this country.

Obviously, the education obtained in these States produced men of the right calibre who could bring about changes for the better for the country and the people.

In the meantime, the non-Malays were doing well in other sectors. Rubber estates, tin mines and other industries grew up with Malay Administrators and non-Malay businessmen working hand-in-hand to get the best out of what the State could give. It was said that Penang grew up on money largely-earned from Kedah and Singapore; in the same way Singapore obtained much of its riches from Johore.

Every citizen of this country should take pride in the Malay language and make a special effort to excel in it, not just to speak Bahasa but to read and write it. A nation without a language is a nation without a spirit and without a soul. If we can take pride in being Malaysians, then we must take pride in our national language. Otherwise all this profession of loyalty is but

empty talk.

No sensible person will begrudge any plan by the Government to implement the two languages: *that* I have learned from experience. The Malays also need Government help — hence our Five-Year Plan. Those who benefitted under the Plans are now happy and contented. But we must not carry out the policy too far, and the Plan must not be one which can be likened to robbing Peter to pay Paul. Those aggrieved by this policy will not give their co-operation, and without it and the help of the non-Malays, already established in big businesses and trades, whatever one does and however much one tries to help the Malays, it will not proceed smoothly, but invite criticism and resentment.

Education, at whatever level, can make or unmake a man; in the same way it can make or unmake a nation. Our leaders are well aware of it. And they all ensure that their children receive the best education possible. In contrast, boys in the kampungs do not have the same opportunities; my object is to give them the best possible education. I have said that when a good brain is not properly utilised it can be a source of danger to the society and to the country.

At the moment, the danger is not too great, but I feel that before the situation deteriorates the Government should act by setting up a Commission to review our education policy.

We must restore confidence to the many races here who have placed their implicit faith in us Malays. The experiment we have carried out in our schools has not proved all that successful, and if we take cognisance of that now, we may be able to put it right. This matter is of the utmost importance to the nation and we must look into it as soon as possible.

The whole trouble with the people is that they obstinately refuse to look at facts objectively. For this reason, we have been weak, and that weakness has been the cause of our subjection in the past to foreign rule.

We who have lived through colonialism know what scant attention has been given to the Malay language. Now the standards should be improved, and no effort should be spared to bring it, in course of time, to the level of English.

A student finishing Malay school at the age of twelve has achieved little to his credit. All he can seek is a job befitting his education, and that won't be much of a job, nor does it offer much in pay.

I called for an all-out effort to make *Bahasa Jiwa Bangsa* into a slogan which was printed on posters and pasted on walls all over the country. Surely this indicated my intention to give the incentive to all to learn Malay and prove their loyalty to this country.

At the same time I advocated that English should be made, for a long time to come, the language for higher studies. This was appreciated by many people, except by those with the-fox-and-sour-grapes or the dog-in-the-manger attitude. They can't see why others should obtain a good education when they themselves have not.

This reminds me of the story of an old man in Kedah, humble and poor, who came to me for help to get his son into an English school. The boy, according to him was keen to learn and to get on in life. What he said rings true in my ears to this very day: "I could not get the opportunity to study, I can't even read or write, but why should I deny my son the right to do better for himself?"

He was helped by me and the boy made good. So did many others who realised that a good education would give them a promising start in life.

This is the spirit which I want to inculcate in my people so that they can give the service which our country expects of all her loyal sons.

Malaysia is new, and she wants to go ahead and not take retrogressive steps. The rate of progress rapidly developing in this world demands that we keep pace with it.

Every day new ideas take shape, and new achievements are recorded. There is never an end to what is happening around the world. Reaching for the moon has become past history, and so has the use of the atom bomb for destruction of life. Medical science and other scientific improvements are taking place every day. Hearts have been removed and transplanted with those of animals.

Air travel has become not only a means of fast transportation, but an improved method of travel at a speed that breaks the sound-barrier. Luxurious passenger ships which once used to carry passengers to far-away places have now completely gone out of fashion, and are only used for holiday cruises.

Everything in the world has changed. It would be foolish for us to imagine that we can give the best service to our country

and people purely on sentiment and emotion, and it will be no wiser to follow the ways of other countries that have not gone ahead with the times.

Our duty is to give the best way of life we possibly can to our people and to help make those who come after us happy and our country peaceful and prosperous. Can we say with justification that by slipping back on our education we can keep pace with progress, still less achieve it for our new nation?

A university professor has complained that it is just impossible to teach students well in Bahasa. In the first place the language is not quite adequate for imparting knowledge to them; secondly, professors who are proficient in the proper use of Bahasa are not available. So, according to some professors, the best they can do for our students is to give them a general working knowledge of the subject they pursue.

Is this what our students are looking for when they enter the university? To get just an idea, and not the full benefit of the education the university can give? Half an education is no education at all. There is a danger that our degrees may not be recognised abroad. What that old man intended for his son was the best possible education, at a level which would make him proud of his son and enable the lad to find pride of place in the nation.

The people of this country are made up of three major races — Malays, Chinese and Indians. All have languages of their own; they have agreed that since we are Malaysians, Malay shall be the national language, the *Jiwa Bangsa*, the soul of the nation.

But there must still be English, the language that will give them the education they seek. In taking it up, Malays do not start from a position of disadvantage, for others have also to learn it, learn what is equally foreign to them.

In the old days, it was true that economic backwardness and other difficulties put Malays at a severe disadvantage. They could not carry on with their education, but had to leave school early to help their parents.

Now, the Government is giving them help, and so economic backwardness is no longer an issue or a problem. Malays are the sons of the soil and everyone agrees that they must be given help. Recognition is also extended to others and for this reason, the Government subsidises all schools.

This was my policy and it was a national policy on Inde-

pendence. If our education policy can provide opportunities for every son of the soil to reach the height of his ambition, then the object is fulfilled.

English can be a point of understanding and goodwill between the races, giving them opportunities to make the best use of their brains.

The Prime Minister of Sri Lanka recently made an equally forthright statement: indeed he went a little further than we are prepared to.

According to him, "Every child in the country should learn Singhalese, Tamil and English. This should be the basis for a just and righteous society ... inter-communal harmony was a pre-requisite for such a society and it could be achieved only if the people understood each other's languages ...."

He added he has asked the Education Minister to recommend at what age or grade a student should begin studying a second and third language.

This is not a problem with us. All that we are faced with is the question of using English as a basis for higher education; in other words, we are opposed to reducing or lowering the status of English in our schools.

Another matter which should be appreciated is that in Sri Lanka the Singhalese make up almost 70 to 80 per cent of the population of the country, yet they are prepared to make concessions in order to achieve "a just and righteous society".

Independence alone is not sufficient unless it has meaning. I want our people to walk the earth with their heads up. I want to see the poor having opportunities to climb up the ladder of success with the sons of the rich and of feudal chiefs, and not be left behind because of poverty and lack of opportunities.

One thing I can say, without fear of contradiction — no traitor would be chosen to free his own people when others before him have tried and have not succeeded.

I am not one to shirk my responsibility; what has to be said must be said if it is for the good of the people, and I will never be afraid to say what I think is right. My critics would not be where they are today if this country had not been freed.

The other day, I received an anonymous phone call after office hours. It was obviously from an office boy. He told me that I was "cock-eyed" and not a Malay in spirit.

I told him that if he had the opportunity to continue his

studies, if he had any intelligence he might have been earning more money than what he is earning now, and it would have been of greater help to his parents and to himself.

If, by promulgating a policy of open opportunities for all, I am considered cock-eyed, then I am happy to be cock-eyed.

"If any one knows a path in search of knowledge,
God will hereby make easy for him a path for paradise.
Search for knowledge is obligatory for every Muslim,
man or woman" — Al-Hadith — Ibn. Majah from Anas.

Chapter Thirty-three

No Strikes without Talks

The topic occupying the minds of everyone in this country at the moment is the Government's offer to pay its employees the terms proposed by the Cabinet Committee, which the union leaders have refused to accept on the grounds that they have no mandate from their members to accept any terms other than those recommended by the Ibrahim Ali Commission.

The point that must be remembered is that Pay Commissions to review the wages of Government servants have been appointed from time to time when the Government finds it necessary to increase the pay of its employees.

This is no different from past practices and in line with this precedent the Government has always made counter-proposals, because it does not follow that when a Commission makes its recommendations the Government must accept them *in toto*. If that were the case the Government would never be able to bear the cost.

Normally a ceiling is fixed in the terms of reference as to how far a Commission can go in recommending an increase of pay. Was that done in this case or not? I did not make a study of it, as this Commission was appointed some time ago. But one thing that is obvious to me is that it was done by the previous Government, and perhaps the financial position of the country was much better then than it is now.

Datuk Hussein could easily disclaim responsibility on the grounds that he had nothing to do with it, but like the honourable man he is, he has accepted his responsibility, making a counter-proposal on the grounds that if it were to accept the recommendations of the Ibrahim Ali Commission, the Government would find itself bankrupt.

A Cabinet Committee which he appointed to go into the matter made recommendations and he summoned Parliament to discuss them. The unfortunate part, of course, is that nobody had time to make a close study of the Cabinet Committee's re-

commendations, and therefore had no chance to delve into the finer points of the recommendations, less still to compare them with Ibrahim Ali's. They chose instead to chastise the union leaders for not accepting the Cabinet Committee's recommendations, and for threatening to take strike action.

The best that can be done in the circumstances is for the unions to accept the Cabinet Committee's recommendations and the points of divergence can be further studied, as suggested by the Deputy Prime Minister, Dr. Mahathir Mohamed.

According to him, "negotiations can still be held to correct whatever anomalies there may be in the schemes as the Government proposals are not perfect; all comments and views should be submitted directly to the Cabinet Committee. They will be considered sympathetically and if found reasonable will be taken into account." Dr. Mahathir is Chairman of the Cabinet Committee.

Mr. T. Narendran, the union leader, took exception to what the Deputy Prime Minister said when he charged the union leaders with not showing due respect for or co-operation with the Government. According to Mr. Narendran, "A trade union leader has the responsibility to represent his members without any fear or favour." He would be failing in his responsibility if he did not put across his members' views in the most forceful manner and make the union stand clear.

The attacks on unions in Parliament were in some cases rather violent. Most of the speakers accused the unions of trying to make trouble for the Government, treating them as disobedient, disloyal Government servants, and going so far as to charge them with being rebels. All this is rather unfortunate, because in fact the unions are neither disobedient nor rebels. All they are doing is voicing their feelings.

The Government has always encouraged Government servants to form unions, whose duty it is to look after the interests of the workers and to fight for their rights, if necessary.

The world today differs so much from what it was before. The instability in the economic conditions of the country, with price fluctuations in most commodities and foodstuffs, has made it necessary for the Government to review the salary structure with an eye on the cost-of-living indices and price increases and to make adjustments accordingly. And so for this purpose Commissions have been appointed from time to time.

As I said earlier, it is not necessary for the Government to give a one hundred per cent increase as recommended by the Commission, nor is it necessary for the Government to look upon such recommendations as unjust. The best it can do is to see what can be done, and that is to fall in with the Commission's findings in the best way it can. This is exactly what the Prime Minister has done.

As a compromise solution I suggested that those matters which appear favourable to both sides should be implemented immediately, and those which are not can be solved later. This has been promised by the Deputy Prime Minister in summing up the debate in Parliament. Why the Prime Minister himself did not sum up I don't know, for that would have had a better effect with the staff side.

The Government cannot find money for the increased pay; that much is clear. So the only thing to do is to pay what it can afford to do now without prejudice to future settlement of claims. The small wage-earner is so anxious to get the arrears and the pay increases.

This is purely a domestic affair between an employer on the one side and the employee on the other, and the Government is the biggest and the best employer. It has so many on its payroll, including daily and monthly salaried staff, and its duty is to look after the welfare of all, and so it has to provide them with pay befitting their employment, in addition to giving subsidies for their housing, and then pensions when they are too old to work. Now pensioners are exempt from payment of income tax and this is a great help to them.

What good is industrial action, or rather what harm can it cause if the staff side should resort to it? It will cause a stalemate with loss of millions of ringgit a day to the nation, with nobody standing to gain except the anti-Government and anti-national elements.

To be congenial, both sides should "give and take". Let common sense and goodwill prevail. This is a very complicated affair, and I personally have had no time to go into the whole matter, except to see it as I see it, and my senses are not dimmed by prejudices. I have had my share of trouble before, and I can well understand Datuk Hussein's dilemma.

Chapter Thirty-four

The Book Pirates

I found to my utter dismay that my book *Looking Back* has been mercilessly pirated; the copies are being sold in some bookshops in Kuala Lumpur at cut prices.

This naturally curtailed sales, which means in effect that all the effort, time and money spent on its publication has been wasted through unscrupulous exploitation by these scurrilous scavengers. There is little chance, therefore, of getting back even a fair return for my work.

According to reports, the pirated book is selling very well and friends, ignorant of the fact, were asking if I had got rich as a result of the "cheap sale". In view of this information, books in the shops were examined and found after a close scrutiny to contain small differences from the original and genuine copies.

These are in respect of the pictures contained in the book, and the omission of the address and telephone number of the publishers, Pustaka Antara. The pictures in the pirated book have a white border, while those in the original copy cover the whole page, leaving space only for the captions.

I reported the matter to the Police, and an investigation is now being carried out. This pirating is causing a terrific loss to the printers and publishers of the genuine book, and naturally to the author, but such shameless acts of piracy by these criminals have reached enormous proportions in this country.

No respect or regard whatsoever is paid to the Copyright Act, 1969 which sets out the possessive and legitimate right of others in respect of their ownership of books or other publications. Their offence in fact amounts to cheating by passing as the prototype the books they publish.

This is not all; it did not happen to me alone. It was revealed that thousands of other books in popular demand, especially school-books, similarly were illegally printed, in the thousands every year, at the time when the schools reopen for the new term for admission of pupils and for promotion of students to higher

forms.

So far, the standard of their work appears equal to the original, but the time may come when they can be careless in their hurry to put a book on the market for sale at the beginning of the school year. The text can go wrong and this will seriously impair the knowledge of the students using them.

The serious question with which we are concerned is, should these criminals be allowed to enrich themselves from the toil and sweat of others? Detection of this crime would offer very little difficulty as there cannot be many publishing houses in this country and those with a good reputation would not be involved in these malpractices. It is only the cheap, unscrupulous publishers who can stoop so low as to commit crimes of this kind.

These publishing houses must be strictly controlled, and investigations should be carried out from time to time to check on their activities. If found guilty, stern action should be taken against them.

Perhaps a special department should be set up to look into this type of offence, as otherwise it will reduce the incentive of budding or would-be authors to publish books. Registration of publishing-houses should be more stringent, and not just given at the applicant's request.

Literary work within the meaning of the Copyright Act 1969 is covered by Sections 3 and 4, and punishment, provided under Section 15, includes a fine of $2,000 (or $100,000 whichever is the lower) for each infringment, or a prison term of one year, or both.

If action can be taken under this Act quickly, it will help to curb the activities of these pirates and be a help to the authors. This Copyright Act came into force in 1969, and so far only two cases have been reported.

Another crime which is rife and very profitable is the "book-making" business. This is a polite term for those taking bets on horses, or on the results of any sporting event.

In England, book-making is legal and book-makers are made to pay high taxes, no less than what is imposed on the turf clubs, and so they operate on no less favourable terms than the clubs.

They also accept greater risks than the turf clubs in that they lay bets at great odds on "pre-post betting", that is taking bets on horses in a classic race long before the race is run. On the day of the race itself, they compete sportingly with the turf

clubs. They are great characters on the British turf with their tic-tac signals, which only they understand.

When my horse won the Melbourne Cup, they laid odds of 33 to 1 against "Think Big", while the betting-pool gave no more than 20 to 1. The runner for me was no less a personage that the former Premier of Victoria, Sir Charles Bolte, a great racing-enthusiast and sportsman whose popularity on the turf has no equal. We remain to this day close friends. He could not get close enough to the bookies, but managed to get the bet on the totalisator.

All these bookies in England belong to Tattersall's Club where owners and big racing-men hobnob with them on terms of equality and friendship. They are much respected figures on the British turf and so, too, on the Australian turf. But here, alas! they operate illegally, illicitly and criminally, and they offer a discount on better terms than the Tote.

The Tote in this country has to pay the highest rate of tax to the Government (30%, consisting of 5% gaming tax, 10% tote and 15% on three-digit characters), compared with any other club in the Commonwealth, and the bookies naturally are able to outdo and outbid the turf clubs. They pay nothing to the Government and nothing to the turf clubs.

They have their touts and their agents or runners, who do the collection and acceptance of bets for a small fee. But they save a lot of income tax, for their income is never accounted for. They pay a discount of about 14% to their customers.

In my time, I had the idea of registering the bookies but the problem was who would come forward and register themselves when they could operate freely without any tax? None of the big bookies have ever been caught, only the small fry, the runners who usually are fined in court, while the big fish avoid capture.

In fact I know a large number of big punters who place their bets with the bookies. The only risk they run is non-payment of the loss by the punters, whom they cannot sue, and in such cases they lose out, but the amount lost is small compared with what they take in.

To compete against the bookies, I gave special permission for all turf clubs to run special discount betting, not subject to Government tax. At one time, this helped to combat the bookies and the big punters were laying bets on the totalisator, but the Government later found it necessary to levy a 5% gaming

tax on discount betting.

The Tote Board which the Government has set up to help the turf clubs by providing them with additional stake-money and other expenses at one time owed the Government many millions of ringgit in gaming tax, according to the Government. After some discussion, however, the Government has been kind enough to consider waiving, if not the whole claim, at least part of it. This will be a great help to the turf clubs and the racing fraternity.

The turf club is one of the best money-earning sources in this country, and all the turf clubs in this country together have paid millions of ringgit a year into the coffers of the Treasury.

One turf club is finding it hard to make ends meet, and in fact is running at a loss. This is a matter which the Government should look into with a view to reviewing the rate of taxes so that the turf clubs can carry on.

What is even worse about the bookies is that they are involved in large-scale bribery and corruption on the turf; the "pulling" of horses, in particular where one carrying a lot of money is involved. Punters ignorant of what is going on will naturally lay their bets on the so-called certainty only to find, when the race starts, that the horse will either miss the jump, or be checked or blocked somewhere between the starting-stalls and the winning-post.

In such a case, the bookies make a pile. With every race, where the average bet is 20,000 tickets, the amount placed on the tote is $100,000 and with the bets placed with the bookies as well, one can imagine how much money has been laid by the punters.

On the question of the three-digit lottery, the bookies cash in on the turf clubs because the numbers issued by the clubs are limited. A good number which has been given out as a possibility by the diety or *tokkong* will be sold out even before the race day. The bookies, however, are more liberal in accepting bets on the *ekor*. As has happened, when this number strikes the small bookies disappear. Turf clubs should sell more tickets and bear the risk of losing, for on the whole, the chances of their winning are good.

To protect the regular punter, I would urge that a Commission be set up to study racing and all that it involves. A lot of money is being spent weekly by members of the public and so the duty of all concerned — the Government and the turf clubs — should

be to take stock of what is needed to make racing clean, make it pay both for the Government and the turf clubs, and satisfy the public.

My line is never to expect to be rich by gambling. That way we can save our tears and at the same time have our little fun.

Chapter Thirty-five

A Thai Convocation

It was a great honour and privilege for me to be invested with the honorary degree of Doctor of Public Administration by His Majesty the King of Thailand at the Prince of Songkhla University last year. The ceremony was very impressive, particularly at the end of the whole proceedings when the graduands' representative read the Oath of Allegiance to their King. Another touching part of the ceremony came when, after the Convocation ceremony, His Majesty gave an address to the students during which all of them squatted on the ground, instead of being seated on chairs. This was an unusual spectacle which brought back memories of days gone by.

Before and after the proceedings the National Anthem was sung by all present. There was a warmth of feeling shown by the King for the students and a reciprocal acceptance by the students. With such a show of loyalty, it is no surprise that the King still remains the symbolic head of the nation, respected and loved by all. Prime Ministers come and Prime Ministers go, but it seems the King stays on.

His Majesty sat on the dais with Her Majesty and their two grown-up daughters. At the ceremony was also the Lady Minister for University Studies of Chulalongkorn University who, in spite of her other duties, found time to be present.

The Prince of Songkhla University is a young university, named after the Royal father, and the proceedings which took place were dignified. The ceremony was conducted with a show of pride and clock-like precision and it was a tribute to the organising skill of Members of the University Council, the Deans, Professors and Lecturers who spared no effort to ensure the success of the Convocation. The roads were lined with boys, and girls and grown-ups who were drenched to the skin by the rain which fell before the start of the ceremony. When I drove back at the close of the proceedings, many thousands still stayed back to see the Royal family return.

The two recipients who were honoured with honorary degrees were the Royal mother, who received her degree in absentia, and myself. The King received the honour on behalf of his Royal mother.

In presenting me to His Majesty for the conferment of the degree, the Chairman of the University Council read the citation, salient features which I record here to show how kindly our Thai friends remember me:

"Tunku Abdul Rahman is indeed a statesman of the highest calibre — a great administrator and politician. His record of achievements is a long and distinguished one, for example,

"(a) In the field of politics and public administration, the Tunku surpassed most, if not all, of his contemporaries. He appeared on the political scene when the country needed a leader who could be trusted by all and in whose motives and judgement they had complete faith.

"The Tunku amply justified the trust placed in him, and through a difficult and dangerous period led the country towards the open road of happiness and prosperity. He led a peaceful but courageous fight for Independence from Britain. The title of Bapak Kemerdekaan — Father of Independence — was bestowed upon him by his people.

"The Tunku held the office of Prime Minister with superb ability and rare talents. With true leadership and diplomacy, the Tunku succeeded in bringing together all the Malay-speaking territories under one flag, that is, the birth of Malaysia. It takes an administrator of exceptional quality like the Tunku to succeed where all others failed in creating racial harmony among the heterogeneous population.

"The Tunku introduced a farsighted development plan responsible for a higher standard of living, a better educational system and a more efficient defence system. The outstanding progress which Malaysia has made owes much to the Tunku's leadership;

"(b) In foreign affairs, the Tunku's exceptional ability to steer the nation is noted. He was the founder of the Association of South-East Asia (ASA) comprising Malaya, the Philippines and Thailand. ASA was the precursor of today's wider ASEAN, which joins in friendly co-operation Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand.

"While in office the Tunku was untiring in his efforts to foster

good relations between Malaysia and her neighbours, particularly Thailand. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the setting up of the border co-operation programme on the Malaysian-Thai border which subsequently developed into a significant co-operation programme between the two countries;

"(c) His other contributions to the country and this region are numerous. The Tunku was the prime force in the replacing of Bahasa Malaysia for English as the official language. While in office, the Tunku was a generous patron of all religions without discrimination. At present he is the president of PERKIM.

"After due consideration of his vast contributions to the prosperity and peace of this region, the Prince of Songkhla University Council has unanimously agreed to confer upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Public Administration".

After the citation was read, I moved forward from where I was seated, facing Their Majesties, and received my degree from the King. It was indeed an honour for me, and an even greater honour to be bestowed the Doctorate by His Majesty.

I made a special journey from Penang for this purpose, and here I wish to record my special appreciation to our Prime Minister who responded to the occasion by providing me with a plane to Haadyai and back to Penang.

There were about four hundred graduates who went through a special drill, which was impressive, without at the same time tiring the King. Each graduate would come forward with cap under arm and right palm open, and then close on the certificate or degree as the King handed it over to him. He would then withdraw a few paces to allow the next graduate to take his place, but he would still remain on the dais until the other one had received his degree and then simultaneously bow and retire to his seat.

This went on with clock-like precision until the last graduate had received his or her certificate. There was no shaking of hands and the King did not have to stand. I thought to myself that it would be a splendid idea if we in our country were to adopt this Thai system of investiture, with our King giving away the degrees in similar fashion. In fact it would bring the Throne closer to the intellectuals and the students.

Malaysia, like Thailand, is a monarchy with the Throne as the symbol of unity and the King as Head of State and symbol of supreme authority. Our present system follows very closely

the British system where the Chancellor of the University confers degrees. That is all very well for England, but should Asian countries follow that system?

Perhaps one might say it will relieve the King of some of the onerous duties of investiture, but then such investitures are not held often, particularly in Malaysia, where there are a handful of universities and colleges.

We might introduce, for instance, the system in Thailand, but if it is considered impossible for the King to give away so many degrees, then he can attend only the opening ceremony; at least that would be a happy augury of the Royal patronage. The presence of the King at a Convocation will have a great impact on the students and others; it would certainly enhance public affection for the King.

After a Royal Declaration at the start of the Convocation, the usual ceremony could follow, with the Chancellor carrying on with the investiture. When I was the first Chancellor of the University of Malaya, I did not have the opportunity of seeing a Convocation of the kind I attended in Thailand, and I was no wiser at the time. Having seen this one, I feel strongly that a change could be made for better and a closer relationship between the King and his people.

To be more explicit, I would say that on Convocation Day the King could arrive at the university for the ceremony with all pomp and pageantry, inspect a Guard of Honour, and be introduced to all Members of the University Council. The King should then proceed to take his place on the dais, built especially for him. After he takes his seat, the Council Members and those to be honoured by the King should proceed in a procession towards the dais, where seats are arranged for them in front of the dais.

The Public Orator would then open the proceedings and the graduands and those seated would stand up with a choir singing the "Negara-Ku". Then the Public Orator would take his place and read out the names of recipients of honorary degrees, followed by the respective Deans of the various faculties calling the names of their successful students.

The King will then be invited to perform the opening and having done that he will retire accompanied by the Council Members. After this, the Chancellor will take over the proceedings and carry on with the investiture. This I think would

add prestige and warmth to the occasion. However, this is my suggestion; one has to think up new ideas to make the proceedings less monotonous and more interesting.

Another matter of interest, which I am never tired of bringing up from time to time, is etiquette, at which the Thais are most adept. They have expressions and ways of showing respect for people of all ranks and ages. They are polite and have a code of conduct which has an appealing effect on those with whom they come into contact. They have correct words for use to people of rank with mutual reciprocity for those of the lower order.

The language of ordinary conversation was introduced, if I remember right, in the Twenties, and continued with more refinement to this present day. At one time they had the ordinary "you" but now they have changed this form of address to "You, Sir", which is used by the lower ranks when addressing the top people and as well as by the top people when addressing those below them. This shows class and refinement; when the right words are employed, they convey mutual respect.

The Malays, too, have the right words for the right people, but for some unknown reason many fail to employ them, except in certain sections of society and among people of certain States. For instance, to a Tunku, "I" is "Patek" and for "yes", "ku".

But how many people nowadays know how to use these words? Some of course refuse to use them on the ground that they are no less important than the other. This attitude may appear smart to them, but to those who know etiquette they are really small and uncouth.

A country that is blessed with culture and good social customs and etiquette should not forego these but rather should employ them to advantage. If Malays can conduct themselves well in the ways of their forefathers, they will be regarded as a cultured people. Being humble and respectful does not mean that one loses one's social standing and identity in life; in fact it stresses one's good character and class.

To be polite is a virtue and such a virtue is highly valued. The Thais know this and as a result, they have made themselves masters of their own country throughout those generations when the Western powers were bent on the conquest of Asia. So, through their politeness, polished tact and diplomacy, they were able to be accepted on terms of equality with all the other races of the West and were able to talk with them as equals. This

has gone a long way in preserving their freedom.

It is one of the traits of the people of the Thai race which I most admire and being half Thai myself, I take pride in it. Being part-Malay I am naturally anxious that my people should make the best use of the *adat*, culture and social etiquette which is our heritage.

Chapter Thirty-six

Brain Drain at the University

There have been a lot of allegations made recently in the Press on the "brain drain" in the Medical Faculty of the University of Malaya. Men in the know or intelligent citizens are alarmed over the spate of resignations that are taking place in the University Hospital.

The President of the Malaysian Medical Association, Dr. G.A. Sreenevasan,* expressed the view that in the interests of the Faculty of Medicine and in order to maintain the high standard of medical education it is necessary for the Government to take a serious view of what is happening. Indeed, the Government should hold an immediate inquiry into it.

According to Dr. Sreenevasan: "Of the professorships the Chair of Medicine has remained vacant since June 1975. The Vice-Chancellor, Ungku Abdul Aziz, has said, 'The moment a member of the staff resigns he is replaced by the next senior man'. There are four senior and distinguished associate professors in the Department of Medicine but none has been appointed to the Chair and it continues to remain vacant after one and a half years. Other chairs vacant are in Psychological Medicine, Paediatrics, Social and Preventive Medicine, Pharmacology, Medical Micro-biology and Anatomy. Out of a total of fifteen chairs in the Faculty of Medicine, seven are vacant".

His enquiries reveal that there has been discrimination in the appointment of the administrative heads of departments and he quoted an example where "the Professor of Psychological Medicine who was head of the Department of Psychological Medicine was terminated as head, and an associate professor considerably junior to him, was appointed head instead".

There is a lack of participation by the academic staff in the usual administration process of a university. In the past faculty representatives to the Hospital Board and Medical Council

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* in 1976

were elected by the faculty. But now they are appointed by the University Council.

The removal of public representation from the Hospital Board of Management appears to have caused some discontent and concern. This Board was appointed by me to safeguard the public interest of the Hospital under the Statute, which allowed the Chancellor to nominate four members of the public to this Board. The Statute was amended and a new Board was reconstituted without any public representation. As a result public confidence is lost.

Appointments, according to Dr. Sreenevasan, are not made in strict conformity to the rule, for example, a forensic pathologist was appointed to a senior post that was advertised for histopathology and morbid anatomy.

These are among the many complaints we hear. On the other hand, Prof. Ungku Aziz, has refuted the allegations that there has been a "brain drain" from the University Medical Faculty. The resignations, according to him, are not unusual for there are always replacements for those who resign. He accused Dr. Sreenevasan, the President of the Malaysian Medical Association of making a sweeping statement without resorting to facts.

According to Dr. Sreenevasan some departments have more vacancies than others; Obstetrics and Gynaecology 4, Anaesthesiology 6, Radiology 6, Pathology 10, Medicine 6, Psychological Medicine 8. There are fewer professors and lecturers who, according to him, were the very backbone of the Teaching Hospital, and if their numbers are depleted, patient care must invariably suffer as must medical education also.

He gave many other factors which I am unable to elaborate on because I have no facts before me, but an unhappy situation has arisen. It strikes me that things are not quite so satisfactory in our Medical Faculty. There is no reason to doubt Dr. Sreenevasan's statement. Being President of the Malaysian Medical Association, he cannot risk making rash statements and charges.

Dr. Mahathir, the Minister of Education*, does not appear to have taken the matter seriously for, according to him, "Why should a few resignations from the University be considered a

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* now the Deputy Prime Minister

brain drain? Anyone with qualifications tends to be choosy and if he finds conditions not congenial he will resign".

This is hardly the answer to the problems in our Faculty of Medicine in the University of Malaya. The public, being concerned, naturally wants to hear a little more about the reason for these resignations; not just that they resigned on their own accord and of their own free will. It certainly is not a good enough excuse.

There must be some reason for it and as Dr. Sreenevasan said, those who resigned were not properly treated or accorded the positions they had earned.

"There are replacements if others choose to go". So says Prof. Ungku Aziz, the Vice-Chancellor. They can go, but the point is, how can the medical students be served if professors come and go? How can these students get the best education they seek with all these constant changes and removals?

We now hear rumours that the Medical Councils of Great Britain and Australia are not happy, less still satisfied, with our standard of medical education and are thinking seriously of refusing to recognise our medical degree. This is very serious indeed, if it is true.

The Minister of Health, Tan Sri Lee Siok Yew* has made a better statement, which is more encouraging, but his reference is in respect of Medical and Health Services. According to him the Government will soon set up a committee to study the brain drain among senior medical officers and specialists in the Government service.

He stated that this is a problem which is causing him concern. He said during the past three years four paediatricians and over fifty specialists had left Government service, and today there were over 118 vacancies for specialists. He might refer to the British Statute and adopt relevant measures which could help keep the doctors in Government service, rather than allow them to leave for more lucrative practices.

In Malaysia they are allowed to prescribe as well as dispense and can charge as much as $20 for a glass of salt water if they so choose. Why then stay in Government service? Then again Medical Centres which offer good services are allowed to charge high fees for their services.

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* now retired

These centres draw good specialists and doctors and they receive twice or thrice the pay the Government can offer them, and in some cases share in the profits of the business. I think there should be some control over the charges made at these centres.

All told, this is a very worrying aspect for a developing country, especially one that is expected to fulfil all its obligations to the people by providing them with the best possible medical attention and care. Doctors are required in large numbers in this country and for this reason the University Hospital was established to turn out good doctors, equal to the best in the world.

Countries in the Commonwealth were willing to give us aid; whether we took it or not after I left the Government I do not know, but in my time as Prime Minister, I was always keen to get whatever help I could from outside to make up for what we lacked here because I realised and appreciated our shortcomings, being new and inexperienced.

When Malaysia gained its Independence I stressed how important and great was the need for a teaching hospital; how necessary it was for us to provide for the education and training of doctors in our own country because the shortage was so great that we had had to recruit doctors from friendly countries from time to time. The need for our own medical men was urgent.

One of my first acts as Prime Minister was to choose the site at Pantai Valley as the campus of the University of Malaya and I earmarked the whole of one sector as the land for future development as a Medical Faculty and the University Hospital. When the University was completed the next move was to build what I thought was one of the biggest and most modern Faculties of Medicine in Southeast Asia.

Our Medical Faculty in this University came into being under most favourable conditions. It is housed in buildings which elicit the admiration not only of laymen like myself but also of men of long experience in medical education in all parts of the world.

When I started this project I made it clear that money should not be a matter of concern. The Government must be prepared to spend any amount so long as our objective to provide the best teaching hospital in Southeast Asia was achieved. That was how it started.

So it is sad to hear of all these allegations of "brain drain"

from the Faculty of Medicine. When the best medical brains are not there to give the benefit of their skill and knowledge in medical education to the students, what hope is there of making progress in this department of study, so important to the nation?

If it is true that the standard of medical education in our Medical Faculty has dropped, the Government must step in and take action to put the matter right. It is too serious a matter to be left unattended.

Chapter Thirty-seven

ASEAN

I came away from the opening of the ASEAN summit meeting last August impressed with all that had been said by the Heads of Government. The one event which received thunderous applause concerned Sabah. It was momentous and completely in accord with the spirit of ASEAN. This claim had soured relationships between two countries of one racial origin, and to no useful purpose.

The Governments of these two countries have changed so much since the Sultanate of Sulu, and it is difficult to entertain a claim based on pure history without logical support. Were such a claim possible, others would start making similar claims.

So it was a matter of great happiness to all people in Malaysia to hear coming from the mouth of President Marcos himself "that action is being taken to renounce the claim on Sabah."

This is bound to make a change in ASEAN and I, for one, see a great future for ASEAN now that this sore is removed. It is heartening that Australia, New Zealand and Japan are taking greater interest in this Southeast Asia grouping for the economic and political well-being of the region. These countries can do so much for ASEAN. They are much more advanced politically, economically and in all other aspects of importance in the world of today.

With the experience that they have, they can inject new life, new spirit into ASEAN and with the help they are able to give, ASEAN can become viable and strong and can be a useful asset to world peace and economic well-being.

In fact all the leaders have made it quite clear that the Association of South-East Asian Nations is not intended to show force, but is established with peaceful intentions.

On July 8, 1977 the Foreign Ministers of these countries expressed the desire of the ASEAN countries to promote peaceful co-existence and mutually beneficial relations with all countries, including Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam on the basis of mutual

respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and with non-interference with each others' internal affairs.

That is clear enough and no further explanation is required to show the good intentions of ASEAN.

Furthermore, a cursory examination or even a detailed investigation would reveal that ASEAN has come together for economic, political and cultural ties. The member states are not well-armed or prepared to make war on countries, nor are they carrying on any armed struggle against any country. Their time is occupied in trying to keep their own homes free from communist subversive activities.

These countries of ASEAN are made up of people who are born happy, who seek no other aim but to be left alone to pursue their own simple ways of life. "They like to live, they like to laze about and they like to make friends. By nature, what they earn today they spend it all; what they can do tomorrow they won't do today."

The benefit of mixing with each other and making new associations with Australia, New Zealand and Japan will put new life and spirit in these happy-go-lucky peoples, who number more than 200 millions.

They are the happiest people in the world. While they learn from others, others can also take a few lessons from them, at least on how to be happy. The other peoples of Southeast Asia are equally nice people but because of the rigours of life they have had since the Second World War, their gentleness has gone, and in its place appears hardness, cruelty and hostility, which they developed as a result of what they had to go through while fighting for their survival.

However, we hope with time things will right themselves for them, and when that happens they will join the rest of Southeast Asia to make the region one of the most peaceful and posperous regions of the world, with strong economic, social and cultural ties.

ASEAN nations are looking forward to the visits of the Prime Ministers of Japan, Australia and New Zealand for further consultations. This is the spirit that has given the people of Southeast Asia and the rest of the democratic world confidence in the leadership of ASEAN. It shows how far they are prepared to go to build and co-operate with others outside their own spheres in order to improve the conditions of life of their people.

The Heads of Government expressed a wish and a hope for closer ASEAN, Australian, New Zealand and Japanese economic ties. There are so many things they have in common with Australia, and in particular they hope to improve food-production with their aid, and with New Zealand they hope to make better and wider use of their timber products and their satellite communications system.

With Japan, one of the highest-developed countries in the world, with a balance of trade so much in its favour, the Heads of State want her to give them a fair return on the money earned from ASEAN countries.

That is fair enough, and the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr Takeo Fukuda has come here to discuss all these things with the ASEAN Heads of Government, and I am sure he will do so with an open mind.

And one of the things he asked for was a meeting with me. That surely is a compliment to me; he wanted to come and see me in my home instead of my calling on him.

Inter-dependence is an absolute necessity in the world of today. No country can live alone, neither can it be expected to make provisions for its own people alone. Policies must broaden and ties must be formed for the economic, social and political well-being of the countries concerned.

What the Prime Minister of Malaysia said is true: "Long-term peace and stability is within ASEAN's grasp if the neighbours of ASEAN can put aside negative feelings of their own and be more positive and friendly towards the ASEAN countries. It is our conviction that the common desire of all the States in the region to improve the lot of their peoples will transcend differences in political systems and lead to mutual co-operation for the common good of Southeast Asia."

In other words there has been a general and visible growth of trust between the five member-countries, and of confidence in their ability to make ASEAN an organisation working for and devoting more of its time to the economic and social well-being of member countries.

The communique itself shows the determination of the leaders to intensify their efforts to strengthen and consolidate ASEAN into a strong, viable and cohesive regional organisation. Emphasis is laid on developing and improving relations not only among Southeast Asian countries, but on a wider horizon for

greater prosperity for this part of the world.

The meeting has shown us how enthusiastic the ASEAN organisation is to go ahead with the problems they have met from time to time, and in particular at the last meeting they had in Bali.

Now a Secretariat has been set up in Jakarta, and it was mentioned that ASEAN would like to work closely with the EEC and other organisations with similar purposes. I am sure ASEAN can learn a lot from the EEC.

This was followed by a further statement on the need to improve trade relations between ASEAN and the EEC. "The Heads of Government welcome the increasing expansion of economic co-operation between ASEAN and the EEC to other fields such as industry, agriculture and rural development, transportation and finance," the communique said.

I am rather confused with all these platitudes made in general terms. What I would like to know, and so will the rest of the people in Malaysia, is what form should the co-operation take and in what particular fields of activities?

What assistance has the EEC given ASEAN in the matter of trade and commerce, because the EEC is made up of countries which have had vast experience in the marketing business, and as between one country and the other in the EEC they have carried on free trade for some years now, but as between ASEAN countries no such trading exists.

So, about what the communique referred to as close "co-operation between the EEC and the ASEAN", without mentioning the particular fields of activities where this has been attained, we are naturally left in the dark.

I would like to see closer liaison between these two organisations, because when ASEAN was started it was done with the intention of carrying on free trading between member-countries, and when ASA (Association of Southeast Asia) which was the forerunner and predecessor of ASEAN, was set up it was done with that aim in view. It started after the EEC was begun in 1961 but it never got going in free trade.

I feel it would be a good thing to base ASEAN activities on the experience gained by the EEC, and for this purpose a few good men from ASEAN countries should be sent abroad for training and to learn from the EEC. ASEAN will then become something.

Whatever we may think of ourselves, however good we think

we are, I may be excused for saying that the Europeans are still far ahead of us in methods and systems and organisational ability. For this reason I say there is nothing to be ashamed of, if we learn these things from them.

Chapter Thirty-eight

A Visit to Sarawak

In 1976, I went to Sarawak and came back impressed with all the preparations that had been made there to celebrate the first official visit by our King, Tuanku Yahaya Putra, the Sixth Yang Dipertuan Agung of Malaysia.

Roads, bridges, buildings and shop-houses were all illuminated and beflagged for the great occasion. Beautifully-lighted arches glowed in the streets of Kuching, and trees glittered with fairy lamps shining out in gentle grace from all the roundabouts and gardens.

The climax of the King's visit was the Royal Opening of the Secretariat Complex. The State Government was kind enough to name the Central Building after me.

Built on the east bank of the Sarawak River at a cost of $61 million, the complex consists of a 20-storey skyscraper and two other buildings, all located on high ground overlooking three lakes and facing a spacious boulevard, these open surroundings designed and paved to enclose six pools, each 80 feet long and 45 feet wide. There is no doubt at all in my mind that this complex is the prettiest, the tallest and largest Government centre in the whole of Malaysia.

The complex takes up an area of 230,000 sq. ft., the height of the central building from the ground to its revolving crest being 350 feet. The Chamber of the Council Negeri (Supreme Council) is on the top floor, and the offices of the Chief Minister and most of the other State Ministers are also housed there.

The result is that they are within reach of one another, and this arrangement makes for good comradeship among the Ministers and officials, all of whom work under the same roof and with the same objectives — to serve the State and the Nation.

The whole building is centrally air-conditioned, with communication between the floors by six lifts in addition to the essential staircase. The internal walls, floors and ceilings are mostly

constructed from local timbers, but marble is used for the covered porch at the main point of entrance.

On August 30, 1973, when I laid the foundation stone for this building-to-be, I jokingly suggested that this bank of the Sarawak River should be called *Harimau* (Tiger), as the capital on the opposite side is called Kuching, which in Malay means "cat".

Obviously, the Sarawak leaders have given much thought to the naming of this area and have considered many suggestions, but the Chief Minister, Datuk Patinggi Haji Abdul Rahman Yakub, arrived at a happy compromise deciding to call the site Jaya Putra in commemoration of the opening of the Tunku Abdul Rahman Secretariat Complex by the Yang Dipertuan Agung. This is a most apt choice, as Putra is the Agung's family name, too.

At the opening ceremony the Chief Minister said that the reason for converting this area into the new official site for future Government buildings in Sarawak was because the people on the eastern bank of the river in Kuching were the first to respond actively to my proposal to form Malaysia with Sarawak, Sabah, Brunei and Singapore.

They were the first to demonstrate their absolute confidence in the independence of Sarawak through Malaysia, and the proposal caught on like wild-fire throughout the country. So with tremendous enthusiam Malaysia was born.

The growth of their political consciousness started way back in 1946, when the last member of the Brooke Dynasty, Rajah Sir Charles Vyner-Brooke, announced in a Proclamation that he had decided to cede Sarawak to the British Crown. He did not even attempt to consult the views of the people of Sarawak, declaring:

"I am spokesman of the people's will. No other than myself has the right to speak on your behalf. Not one of you will question whatever I do in his high interests. There shall be no Rajah of Sarawak after me. My people will become subjects of the King. This is for your good. By Royal Command."

Hitherto the Sarawak Malays looked up to the Brookes as their Rajahs; so his unexpected Proclamation wounded their pride. So deep was the feeling of hurt that a young group plotted to prevent the take-over of Sarawak by the British Crown but how that was to be done or how Sarawak could maintain

itself as an independent State against overwhelming odds was then hard to know. One thing, however, is certain — this group decided to make the extreme sacrifice and to give their lives, if need be, in the name of freedom.

Their first move was non-cooperation, a campaign started by 338 teachers and Government officers, mostly Malays. Representing about 13 per cent of the Civil Service, they resigned or refused to work under a Colonial Government from Whitehall. For three years their anti-cessionist activities seethed and festered.

Meanwhile, the Sibu-based Gerakan Pemuda Melayu went one step further, deciding to start an open rebellion by assassinating the Governor, Duncan Stewart, when he visited Sibu. They did not care about the consequences that would follow their action. Their thoughts were in keeping with Malay stratagems in the past, from the time of Hang Tuah to this period of trouble in Sarawak.

The first visit of the Governor to Sibu, however, was postponed, and this decision saved Haji Noor Tahir, the man who had drawn the lot to kill him, from taking the central role of assassin. Being out of a job, he went to Brunei and found employment in that State.

In the meantime, the anti-cessionists drew another lot; the unfortunate person chosen to be the assassin was Rosli bin Dhoby, a youth of 19 years. When the Governor finally came to Sibu on December 3, 1949, Rosli, posing as a photographer, was ready. As the Governor inspected the Guard of Honour mounted for him, Rosli drew his kris and, lunging with a sudden movement, with one stab killed the Governor outright.

He made no attempt to escape and was arrested, being beaten up badly in the process. In the investigation that followed several names came to light. In the end Rosli bin Dhoby, Morsidi bin Sidek, Bujang bin Suntong and Awan Ramli bin Haji Matsaruddin, were hanged.

One fact came to light — the law had been changed to inflict capital punishment on youths under 20 years. So Rosli, only 19, and the others, had to pay the extreme penalty imposed by the new law. As every lawyer knows, any law made retrospective in criminal offences is bad law.

Another travesty of justice occurred when, as a result of uncorroborated evidence put forward by an accomplice, more

men suffered. Abang Han bin Abang Ahmad, Morni bin Junid, Osman bin Dollah, Chek bin Othman, Abang Ahmad bin Abang Abu Bakar, Awang Othman bin Awang Ahmad, Wan Zain bin Tuanku Abdullah, San Ahmad bin Tuanku Ibrahim, Ba'i bin Adis and Mustapha bin Takip were all sentenced to imprisonment.

Five others, namely Wan Abu Bakar bin Tuanku Haji Mohammad, Wan Hassan bin Tuanku Abdullah, Wan Hashim bin Tuanku Ibrahim, Jamaluddin bin Haji Idris and Ajid bin Amir Khan, were detained for three weeks.

These nineteen men were the first Malay patriots to suffer in the cause of Independence, having vowed to face any consequence for their State of Sarawak, and their courage and patriotism won the highest admiration from others throughout Malaya.

At the time I was still the Deputy Public Prosecutor in the Attorney-General's Office in Kuala Lumpur, and I knew full well it was impossible to do much to save these people.

The Imperialist Government was determined to make an example of them, but their action, instead of quenching the flame of patriotism in the hearts of the Malay people, produced quite the opposite effect. It kindled afresh a new spirit of Independence, and this was how many young Malays began to change their attitude towards their British "rulers".

Later when Datuk Onn accepted the British offer of Home Rule, UMNO under my leadership refused, declaring for nothing short of Independence. But if it were not for the sacrifice made by these brave men who died in Sarawak, probably the Malays in the Peninsula would not have striven so hard for the high ideal of Independence, nor shown such readiness to make similar sacrifices.

The memory of these men who died in the cause of Independence should be kept alive with a monument to perpetuate their great sacrifice, built on the site where the people of Sarawak now display their new and glorious achievement.

As I stated in an earlier column, the past is a repository of precedents; all should remember that the present and the future grow out of the past. Heroes such as these must be remembered for future generations to come.

There are more comments I would like to make on my impressions of how the State Government of Sarawak prepared

for the celebrations for the Royal Visit. Almost every movement of the VIPs was well-timed, well-prepared and well-executed. All concerned must have gone to a great deal of trouble and time to rehearse the programme in every detail.

On one occasion the Chief Minister, Datuk Haji Abdul Rahman Yakub, was one minute behind time when he was due to send off the Deputy Prime Minister, Dr. Mahathir Mohamed. Feeling ruffled he grumbled to his officials. His reaction revealed the dedicated purpose behind all the arrangements — they were designed to be tuned and worked to perfection: nothing less would do.

The flags that adorned the streets were brand-new, unlike those we have to show for any celebrations in West Malaysia now. They must have spent thousands of dollars but the money is not wasted, as their efforts have brought meaning to the kampung people and to the Ibans and other natives of the State, who can rightly take great pride in everything done to display Sarawak at its best in honour of the Agung.

A lesson may well be learned from Sarawak, where the officials wear their correct attire, not the bush-jackets worn at our National Day celebrations, even by Ministers and Deputy Ministers of the Crown.

Obviously progress in Sarawak has come a long way and is moving ahead on the right path. It is an entirely different State today from what I knew of it when Sarawak was a Protectorate of Britain. It has developed steadily, slowly and with quiet dignity.

I for one take even more pride in what they have done, because from the beginning I had a strong feeling that both Sabah and Sarawak were going to be real assets to Malaysia, and they have proved to be so.

Sabah has its own political troubles at the moment, but if the Central Government does not interfere with the affairs of the State, Sabah may well overcome its difficulties quietly in its own way. The best the Central Government can do, when a political squabble occurs, is to leave the problem to the parties themselves and not impose its will on a party it dislikes.

As a paternal Government, it should make the best use of its influence for good, so that it can be sure a dispute will be settled to the satisfaction and benefit of all. A multi-racial people expect fatherly intervention only to give them protec-

tion, security, happiness and peace of mind.

Sarawak, however, is lucky. Datuk Haji Abdul Rahman Yakub is a man of considerable experience as he was a Cabinet Minister for several years. The Government entrusted him with missions both at home and abroad, and he did well. In his career as a Minister he displayed great knowledge and far-sightedness.

Sometimes he was inclined to be impulsive, but as a responsible Executive Head of State now he has corrected himself, for he knows what should be done and what he has to do, and I must say to his credit that he has done very well indeed.

It was obvious he had given his closest attention to everything relating to the celebrations, from the dance troupes to preparing the banquets and organising the regatta on the river. He left nothing to chance, and his officials served him ably.

He brought troupes in from Kelantan and Indonesia, and also drew on the Chinese, as well as the bumiputras of Sarawak, bringing them together with their varied cultural shows for the enjoyment of the Agung and the State's guests, resulting in right royal entertainment indeed.

The decorative displays on the lighted floats in the river were a magnificent spectacle, the banquet well chosen and presented, and the geniality of our hosts evident everywhere, so naturally I came away most impressed by my joyful stay of three days.

Chapter Thirty-nine

Merdeka Joy

This last week of August has been an exciting, exhilarating one, and the month most eventful, what with the Merdeka Celebrations and the Quran Reading Competition.

August 31, 1977 was a fitting tribute to the Nation's Independence, and the celebration that accompanied it was joyous and memorable. The unfortunate part of it was that the celebrations had to be carried out early in the morning on a Fasting day, when most of those taking part must have inevitably felt a terrific strain.

I myself was not able to attend for the simple reason that I could not get up at that time. I concluded the evening before the start of Fast with my usual prayer at 5.20 am, and after that I lay in bed and fell fast asleep, only to wake up two hours later; so I missed the parade.

A young lady from the Press rang me up and asked me why I was not there. According to her everyone expected to see me on the Independence Day Celebrations. I told her I was dreaming in bed. At my age it was not possible to break away from the habits which I get into during the Fasting Month. Nevertheless it was a most exciting month — and that day was a day to remember — Merdeka Celebrations in the morning and the Quran Competition in the evening.

The world has known competitions of all kinds, in games and sports, cultural and beauty, dresses and hair-dos, dances and works of art, in fact everything that can be thought of, but never that of the Quran or Gospel Reading.

As boys we used to mill around the small mosque in Alor Star listening to famous readers of the time rendering in singsong fashion the verses of the Quran with such melodious tones. Those reciters or readers came from other States and were brought to Kedah for the week during Ramadan by my late uncle, Tunku Mahmood, to recite and entertain the people in the Holy Month.

Then in the early 1930s the Government appointed my brother, Tunku Yaacob, to chair the Competition committee, which was open to all Districts in Kedah. My District was the most inexperienced; nevertheless we were among the first to take part. We had plenty of fun and helped to enliven the month of Ramadan, but beyond that we achieved nothing but a sense of satisfaction for our small contribution.

When I was living in Johore, UMNO organised a competition for its members, in all its divisions, and I was happy to see the side-walk by the Straits of Johore in front of UMNO House, crowded with enthusiastic listeners. Every night of the Competition, readers of mediocre standard and without much idea of how to put skill to good effect took part.

My memory went back to the occasion when Encik Khir Johari and I had to carry Khatijah Sidek to the hospital for acute food-poisoning. According to her she got the attack after eating at UMNO House at the *Buka Puasa* (Fast Breaking) on the previous evening. We were informed of her trouble the next day and after she had recovered and came out of the hospital she accused Khir, who was then UMNO Secretary-General of trying to poison her.

Everyone, of course, was shocked, including Khir Johari himself. He vehemently denied having any knowledge, or having had anything to do with it. He had no homicidal propensities and would not sink so low as to poison the stomach of Khatijah Sidek. In fact, nobody else who enjoyed that evening meal had any cause for complaint.

After Independence, the Government decided to invite all States to participate in a Competition to highlight the importance of the month of Ramadan. So it was that the Competition was started, and it has gone on until today with ever-increasing success. It has now reached its nineteenth year, and we pray it will continue for all time.

Glory be to Allah whose Infinite Mercy and Blessing has made this competition an indelible mark for Malaysia, and has won for her a name throughout the Muslim world.

Coming back to Merdeka — the Celebration this year fell on the same day as the Quran Competition, and this will not recur for another thirty years.

According to a letter I received from a firm which prints calendars, the name of which I can't recall, there will be no

more August 31 after such and such a date. So our Merdeka Day will have to be changed accordingly.

However, if that comes to pass and there is no more August 31, then the only alternative is to choose September 1, or the eve of Merdeka, that is August 30, as our Merdeka Day, but as long as August 31 remains it will continue to be our National Day.

This mid-year of 1977 has in fact been a very eventful and momentous period of our history. Not only have we had our Merdeka and our Quran Competition on the same day, but we have also had the ASEAN Summit Meeting for the Heads of Government. The Conference was held in a spirit of camaraderie.

Everywhere one went and whoever one met the topic of discussion was the ASEAN meeting, the things said by such and such a leader on such and such a matter. Our mass media and the Press gave it full coverage. Besides the ASEAN nations there were three other important countries which associated themselves with ASEAN, namely, Japan, Australia and New Zealand.

I said to myself when I heard of this, "At last we are going places." For twenty years, first ASA, then ASEAN, went on talking; they talked in Bangkok, in Manila, in Jakarta, in Kuala Lumpur and in Singapore, and nothing happened.

ASEAN was just a forum for discussion by the Heads of Government without any serious effort or intention made to achieve any result, only a show of the eloquence of the various Heads of Government. With the collaboration that is now expected from Japan, Australia and New Zealand we can at last expect results.

In addition to this the Prime Minister of Japan gave promises that he would actively give help to the countries of Southeast Asia. He was good enough to call on me and told me of Japan's sincere intentions to help the countries of Southeast Asia and his parting words were, "What advice can you give me?"

My reply was that there was no advice I could give because I know that whatever is in his mind, is also in mine. All I could say was that I was glad Japan was doing the right thing at last for the countries of this region of Asia.

According to a newspaper report, the ASEAN Heads of Government are taking steps to establish each of the group's

five industrial projects as a joint venture, and the products will be given preferential treatment in the markets of each of the member-countries. ASEAN countries are interested in the following: ammonia (Malaysia), phosphates (Indonesia), diesel engines (Singapore), rock salt soda ash (Thailand) and phosphate fertilisers (Philippines).

Japan can give expert aid in all these fields. Added to this Mr. Fukuda promised technical and financial help, but he was careful to say that any aid given by Japan would not be prejudicial to the interests of the other South-East Asian countries, like Vietnam and the other Indochina States. This is appreciated, because obviously Japan does not want to expand its foreign aid policy on the wrong foot. However, the promise made by Mr. Fukuda was honest, sincere and timely.

A friend of mine who came back recently from Japan had this to tell me. The Japanese public appear to think that Mr. Fukuda was not positive enough and his statement was rather apologetic.

He should have come to the meeting of ASEAN as a Prime Minister, outright, positive and authoritative in his approach to questions of aid to all these countries of South-east Asia, but instead he came as a businessman trying to survey the prospects of getting good business for Japan. Japan needs ASEAN co-operation, firstly as a market for her manufactured goods, then as one of the biggest suppliers of raw materials.

According to my informant all the projects required by ASEAN countries will be met by Japan, and it is our hope that she will take immediate action to prove her honest intentions to help.

This is all very encouraging. Added to this windfall expected of Japan there is the Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. Fraser, who has promised close co-operation. The Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Muldoon, too, has promised to give whatever aid is required by Southeast Asian countries.

ASEAN's progress looks more realistic now than it has ever been since its founding in Bangkok in 1967. One can only wish that the coming decades would be as fruitful for we cannot afford to fail. There is too much at stake and I can only hope that the leaders of ASEAN in the future will be as shrewd and pragmatic as the present leaders are.

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Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, D.M.N., K.O.M., C.H., has had a distinguished career as a lawyer, statesman, diplomat and Prime Minister. He is the father of two nations, first Malaya and then Malaysia, and the founder of ASA (now ASEAN).

He was born in 1902 and is a prince of the royal house of Kedah. He was educated at St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, and was called to the Bar from the Inner Temple in 1949. Three years afterwards he became President of the United Malays National Organization. The Federation of Malaya obtained independence under his leadership on 31st August 1957 and the Tunku became Malaya's first Prime Minister, and subsequently Prime Minister of Malaysia. He resigned in September 1970 and soon afterwards became Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat. Many honours have been bestowed on him but the one he treasures most is the Kedah Order of Merit.

VIEWPOINTS



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